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READING ROOM



Board rejects NUM's proposals
and awaits drift back to work

TUC asks Thatcher for pits meeting

By John Ardill, Labour Correspondent
TUC leaders last night called for an urgent meeting with the Prime Minister after they failed to secure negotiations between the National Union of Mine-workers and the coal board.

A brief statement after a meeting between the NUM executive and the six general council members monitoring the dispute said NUM proposals which were rejected by the board, represented significant moves towards a settlement.

The immediate future of the dispute hinges on this morning's drift back to work after the coal board said that it would talk only on the basis of its final proposals put to the miners' and deputies unions on Friday.

The board's chief spokesman, Mr Michael Eaton, urged strikers to read the "fair, reasonable and final" proposals and proposals text, page 2; Alliance "prospects" from dispute, page 3.

show their acceptance by returning to work or by whatever other means they could communicate to their leaders.

The National Union of Mineworkers has called a delegate conference in London on Thursday to decide the next steps.

In the meantime it must rely on a series of leaders holding the strikers' feet, particularly in the North-East of England, which has had the return to work since Christmas and in South Wales where some want an organised return to work without a settlement.

The NUM president, Mr Arthur Scargill, responded last night to the suggestion that some leaders would lead their men back by saying the executive had been unanimous in all its decisions over the weekend.

Four sentences divide the parties: three which the NUM wants removed from the document drawn up last week by the board and Mr Norman Williams, TUC general secretary, as the board's final position; one which it wants inserted.

Mr Eaton said that the board could not negotiate over these differences because they took out the only references in

Prison officer shot dead

From Paul Johnson in Belfast

A Roman Catholic prison officer was shot dead in front of two of his young children yesterday as he left a cathedral after celebrating mass.

Mr Patrick Kerr, aged 37, was confronted by two hooded IRA gunmen outside St Patrick's cathedral, Armagh, and shot three times in the head at pointblank range.

His five-year-old daughter, Kriston, and seven-year-old son, Gregory, were at his side when he was picked out from the 800-strong congregation and killed.

Mr Kerr, a principal officer at the Maze prison, had been awarded the British Empire Medal in 1981. He is the 24th member of the prison service to be killed in the past 15 years.

Last night, in a statement claiming responsibility, the IRA said he had been executed. The outlawed paramilitary organisation alleged that Mr Kerr had been involved in the beating of Republican prisoners.

"We reserve the right to take action against individuals involved in beatings. Kerr was such a person. Others be warned," the statement said. There was an attempt on Mr



Patrick Kerr, the murdered man, pictured with his son, Gregory

Kerr's life nine years ago when shots were fired at his home in Armagh. He later moved to the Police Park area, which is predominantly Protestant.

It was said last night that Mr Kerr, who at one time had

was relatively safe at church with his children.

Police issued an appeal for members of the congregation at the 10.30 a.m. mass to come forward. They believe that his killers may have attended the service in order to identify their target.

Last night Cardinal Tomas O'Fiaich, Primate of All Ireland, described the prison officer's death as a "foul murder". He asked whether any greater crime could be committed than to murder a man in front of his family as he left church after worship.

Mr Seamus Mallon, deputy leader of the Social Democratic and Labour Party, said the killing was an obscene crime and called for members of the community to reject those responsible.

The Northern Ireland Office said last night that the IRA statement was a cynical attempt to justify the despicable and callous murder of a fine prison officer.

Mr Gerry Adams, the West Belfast MP and leader of Sinn Féin, has been refused permission to visit the US to address politicians during Mrs Thatcher's trip to Washington this week. He has been barred from the country on several other occasions.

Ponting debate gets new Belgrano claim

By Colin Brown

Political Staff

New information about the sinking of the Argentine war ship Belgrano was produced yesterday in a move which the Government's critics regarded as an attempt to deflect the Opposition's fire away from the Prime Minister and her

army minister, Mr John Stanley, in today's Commons debate on the affair.

Criticism that the Government was seeking to deflect attacks on the unsuccessful prosecution of civil servant Mr Clive Ponting yesterday whilst it was claimed that the Belgrano was closer than previously admitted to ships from the Task Force when she was sunk.

According to Mr Michael Mates, the Conservative MP for Hampshire, East, three ships which had formed a breakaway group from the main task force, the destroyer Glamorgan and two frigates

Belgrano 'never part of pincer movement' back page

Arrow and Ardent, were within 40 to 100 miles, of the Belgrano when she was sunk, not 200 miles, as previously stated by the Prime Minister.

"They were on a course which took them within 40 and 100 miles of the Belgrano when she was sunk. This means they could have been face to face within an hour if they had been on a converging course," he said.

"When it was reported to the crew of the Glamorgan that the Belgrano was sunk, a most colossal cheer went up, not a cheer of victory or revenge, but of relief because they knew what a threat she was. What makes the materials made is the talk that the Belgrano was no threat to anybody."

Mr Mates, interviewed yesterday by BBC Television outside the Ministry of Defence, said members of the crew were concerned that the story of the sinking of the Belgrano had continued without the facts being revealed. "The fact that she was sailing home was totally untrue," said Mr Mates, a leading backbench voice on defence, and a former Army Lieutenant-Colonel.

However, leading Opposition sources dismissed the new information as a device to ensure that the debate today centres on the Government's defence of the sinking of the Belgrano rather than the issue of the prosecution of

Ponting for leaking information to Mr Tam Dalyell, the Labour MP for Lanarkshire, and the alleged deception of Parliament by Mrs Thatcher and Mr Stanley.

The Shadow Defence Secretary, Mr Denzil Davies, intends to turn to back page, col. 1

NEWS IN BRIEF

European 'danger'

SENIOR Tory MPs want Mrs Thatcher to use her Washington trip to tell President Reagan that high US interest rates are endangering Europe's economic recovery. Back page.

Salisbury ban

FOUR people charged with trespass while following a cruise missile convoy on Salisbury Plain have been ordered to stay out of Wiltshire at point of bail conditions. Back page.

Jobless claim

A TUC paper challenges the government view that workers have priced themselves out of jobs. Page 18.

Insipid England

AN ENSIPID England was beaten by an assured Australia by seven wickets in the opening world championship match. Page 23.

Battle of wills

A ROW over food aid is the latest in the battles of will between the 10 EEC governments and the Community institution. Page 6.

Canal campaign

THE FIGHT is on to save the loss-making upper reaches of the Manchester Ship Canal. Page 3.

Hockey dismay

SOME RELATIVES of Welsh soldiers killed in the Falklands conflict are upset by a planned visit to Argentina by the Welsh women's hockey team. Page 4.

Lift injuries

SEVEN workmen were seriously injured last night after a lift they were preparing to dismantle plunged 30 feet down a shaft at Sunderland railway station.

The weather

COLD with sunny intervals. Details, back page.

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Walesa risks gaol in new strike call

By Michael Simmons

Poland's Solidarity leader, Mr Lech Walesa, publicly urged his supporters yesterday to back the banned union's call for a 48-hour general strike this month against the government's latest round of food price increases.

Speaking to a crowd of thousands which gathered after a church service in Gdansk, he said there had to be a general counter-offensive "against these measures. The stoppage, which is planned for a week on Thursday, was, he said, "irrevocable".

The crowd, which had been attending mass for the three Solidarity activists arrested at a meeting last week, roared approval.

By this gesture Mr Walesa had come closer than at any time since his release from house arrest in 1982 to making himself liable again to police detention. He was warned specifically by the security authorities during the weekend not to provoke public disorder.

But the government is also awkwardly placed. There is no more emotive issue with Poles today than the price of food, and it has consistently been a trigger for massive public demonstrations and for resulting radical changes.

Mr Walesa showed yesterday that he was aware of the inflammatory nature of what he was saying and that he could now face arrest.

He told his supporters that he intended to go to work at the shipyard today, but added: "Whether I am arrested or not, everybody knows what he must do on February 25."

Lech Walesa in Gdansk at the weekend

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King has the mastery of the Monster

By Leonard Barden

Monster Y, an experimental micro-computer which briefly mimicked a computer for a 10,000 chess prize after defeating a human competitor, was seen off by an international master in London last night.

The micro-computer, an official entrant in the Common Wealth chess championship row running at the London Dockland Museum, recorded something of an upset in the

first round at the weekend when it defeated an expert player from the capital, Mr Anthony Stebbing, who had been told that it was a "mind-bogglingly good" move. But then it made a fatal error. It snatched one of King's pawns but then lost a rook for bishop on complications.

Finally, Monster Y's handler resigned on the stroke of adjournment rather than play after two rounds: Nunn, Chandler, Speelman, Law, Watson, Bellin and King (all of England), Spraggett (Canada) and Thipsay (India).

Chessmaster King said: "I

was much worse. Monster has a very good strategic sense and it stopped all my traps. If there's one best move, Monster always finds it. It doesn't crack under pressure like a human. I'm just relieved I got Monster in the end."

Nine players led the championship with maximum points after two rounds: Nunn, Chandler, Speelman, Law, Watson, Bellin and King (all of England), Spraggett (Canada) and Thipsay (India).

The most debasing development would be Star Wars

weapons, since they would tempt the US to contemplate a first strike. "So, of course, we will need ASAT weapons," he said.

Earlier, the Soviet Union appeared eager to halt the development of the superior US ASAT system. The Soviet hunter-killer is considered clumsy by comparison with the sophisticated US F15 aircraft-launched ASAT.

Within five years it is claimed that this system could wipe the skies clean of Soviet reconnaissance satellites in less than a day, while the Soviet system could take days to coordinate an attack.

The statement that the Soviet Union is trying an ASAT agreement to a broader one on all space weapons adds further pressure on the US to include Star Wars systems in a new space treaty. Already, hopes for agreement on strategic and medium range missiles are low because of the Star Wars stumbling block.

Leader comment, page 13; Agenda, page 16

Firemen warned over Aids contact

By Penny Keel

Firemen have been warned by their union not to give mouth-to-mouth resuscitation to fire or accident victims if they suspect that the victim is homosexual.

The advice, which has come from the Fire Brigades Union, is in response to concern from the membership about Aids. Mr David Matthews, the union's national safety officer, said yesterday:

"Our lads are getting very worried. We have been inundated with calls in the past few days. We are not imposing a general ban, but want our members to be cautious about giving mouth-to-mouth resuscitation."

And if there is any suspicion that they are dealing with a homosexual, they should not do it. They know they are in a gay club or community - they should definitely not use mouth-to-mouth," Mr Matthews said.

The union official who recognised that firemen would not be able to come to any

such conclusion about victims in road accidents or rail crashes or most fires, said the Home Office had been asked to provide advice urgently.

Mr Matthews said his union had wanted to issue its 43,000 members with a plastic tube device to enable them to perform mouth-to-mouth resuscitation without direct contact.

But although the devices cost less than £1 they had not been widely distributed among brigades.

Last night the Home Office said that the union's request for advice was receiving urgent and sympathetic attention.

The current scare within the prison service over the disease was accentuated at the weekend with the discovery at a Devon prison that a suspected sufferer had been transferred there from another gaol.

The prisoner, who is in his thirties, is now understood to be in isolation in the hospital wing of Channing Wood prison in Abbot.

Staff at the prison were told that the system could wipe the skies clean of Soviet reconnaissance satellites in less than a day, while the Soviet system could take days to coordinate an attack.

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Why Do You Read So Slowly?

A WORLD-FAMOUS educationalist reports that there is a simple technique of rapid reading which enables you to double your reading speed and yet retain much more. Most people do not realise how much they could increase their pleasure, success and income by reading faster and more accurately.

The details of this method are described in a fascinating book, "How To Read Faster - And Remember More", sent free on request.

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To acquaint all readers of the Guardian with the easy-to-follow rules for developing rapid reading skill, the educationalist has printed full details of this interesting self-training method in a 24-page book "How To Read Faster - And Remember More", sent free on request. No obligation. Simply return the coupon on page 6 (no need even to stamp your envelope), or write to: Reading Improvement Programme, (Dept MGB7, FREEPOST, Manchester M3 8BA).



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Jenkin and Joseph accused in fight to avoid £66m cuts

Ilea in double court challenge over cash curbs

By John Carrel, Local Government Correspondent

The Inner London Education Authority will this week begin a two-pronged challenge in the courts against the Government's squeeze on its budget and resources.

Ilea's finance committee will today receive a legal opinion from Mr Roger Henderson, QC, that Mr Patrick Jenkin, the Environment Secretary, acted unreasonably in fixing the authority's rate-capping limit.

It also expects to be told that the courts have given leave to hear its case that Sir Keith Joseph, the Education Secretary, has unlawfully and unreasonably obliged Ilea to pay an excessive share of the cost of running Britain's polytechnics.

The Labour-controlled authority wants to push ahead fast with both actions to help it to avoid making £66 million of cuts in the budget which it is legally obliged to pass by March 10.

Mr Henderson's opinion suggests that Ilea has even more grounds for complaint than other rate-capped authorities against the way Mr Jenkin fixed rate limits for the coming financial year.

Mr Jenkin has so far refused to explain how he made his calculations. He has defended his decision by claiming that the Labour councils have refused to provide him with full information and with their alternative rate proposals.

Mr Henderson points out that Ilea, unlike the other councils, passed a rate and budget last November which provided all the relevant data.

"There is persuasive evidence that every item of information sought was in fact made known to the secretary of state for the Environment," he says.

If Mr Jenkin failed to give a proper explanation of his actions, the inference which Ilea will be constrained to draw is that the court to draw will be that

relevant information known to the department was ignored and assumptions were made which were either inappropriate or inaccurate or both.

Mr Henderson says that Ilea has a "worthwhile prospect" of showing that Mr Jenkin failed reasonably to discharge his statutory functions.

Ilea's finance chairman, Mr Steve Bundred, said yesterday that the authority wanted to establish whether Mr Jenkin had recognised Ilea's unique position as a one-purpose education authority.

The case against Sir Keith Joseph, which he has successfully failed to establish, is a fair method of fixing Ilea's contribution to the national arrangement for funding polytechnics.

Since 1975 there has been a formula for calculating education authorities' contributions to this fund, called the "advanced further education pool." It has been based on an authority's shares of non-domestic rateable value and of the national school population.

The Government has repeatedly recognised that this formula has little or no relevance to the polytechnics, but it has failed to introduce an alternative.

Mr Bundred says the result is that Ilea pays £25 million a year more than its fair share. If Ilea's compromise formula had been accepted, it would save £9 million next year.

Ilea is considering a third action against the Government's grant and penalty system. The authority's leader, Mrs Frances Morrell, said yesterday that the authority would have to cut its 1983/84 budget by more than £400 million to qualify for any grant.

By law, Ilea has to fix its 1985/86 budget by March 10. Unless it can extract concessions from the Government at the courts the budget it fixed in November would appear to be unlawful.

Council backing for NUT

By Seamus Milne

Leaders of a Labour-controlled council in the West Midlands confirmed yesterday that they had joined Sheffield in supporting the teachers' side in the current pay dispute.

Like Sheffield, Dudley Council has agreed with the local National Union of Teachers not to dock teachers' pay during their "work-to-rule" in exchange for an undertaking by the teachers not to join the NUT's selective strikes planned for February 26.

We fully support the teachers in their claim," Dudley's vice-chairman of education, Mr John Davies, said yesterday. "But any wage increase above 4.5 per cent must be met by central government, and they realise that."

Mr Davies said that the authority had written to Mrs Nicky Harrison, the Association of Metropolitan Authorities' chairman, asking her to reopen negotiations with the teachers.

The moves by Sheffield and Dudley have destroyed the united front the teachers' employers have hitherto maintained in the dispute.

Last night president of Dudley NUT, Mr Bob Garnett, said that his authority's position was further strengthened by the fact that Sheffield and Dudley were now backing the teachers' campaign. "Trade unions and Labour councils should stand together to force central government to give teachers a fair reward," he said.

Dudley NUT is now negotiating with the authority about maintaining cover to defend the school meals service and new in-service training courses that the Labour administration has introduced since it took over last May.

Sheffield has not backed the teachers' case. The Labour-controlled council reached agreement with its teachers because of their joint opposition to rate-capping.

Text of pit talks document

This is the text of the document at the heart of negotiations at the pit talks. The NUM sought to delete the section in brackets and make an insertion at the end of paragraph 6.

2. It is of crucial importance for the parties concerned in the current dispute to concentrate attention on the future of the industry and on the need to secure sound development in the coalfield, and to ensure that the industry is able to meet the needs of the community.

3. The NUM recognises that it is the duty of the industry to ensure that the coalfield is able to meet the needs of the community, and to ensure that the industry is able to meet the needs of the community.

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11. The NUM recognises that it is the duty of the industry to ensure that the coalfield is able to meet the needs of the community, and to ensure that the industry is able to meet the needs of the community.

More sites set for nuclear fight

As the Sizewell inquiry ends anti-nuclear groups prepare for similar battles at four other places. Michael Morris reports

AS THE Sizewell B nuclear power station inquiry draws to a close, anti-nuclear groups are gearing up to fight proposed reactor developments at four other sites around Britain's coast.

But the groups fear that opposition will be more difficult than at the two-year inquiry into a proposed American-style pressurised water reactor (PWR) at Sizewell, Suffolk, which is expected to end early next month.

They suspect that attempts will be made to confine arguments to local planning issues at public inquiries which are expected over designated sites at Hinkley Point, Somerset; Dungeness, Kent; Winfrith, Dorset; and Druridge Bay, Northumberland.

Mr Joe Weston, chairman of the national strategy committee of Friends of the Earth, says that the planning inquiry process will be easier for the board in the first three cases than Druridge, the only green field site, since they are already owned by the Central Electricity Generating Board.

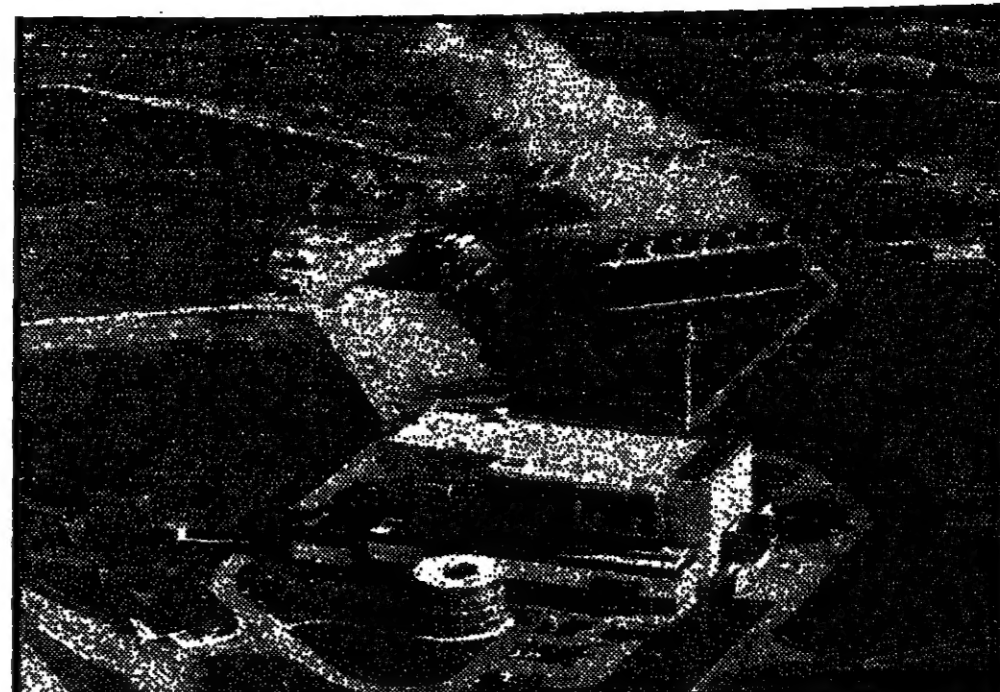
The Sizewell inquiry, he adds, has attempted to establish the need for and the safety of the PWR so that it is probable that neither issues will be able to be discussed at those inquiries.

But the groups will try to make the issues broader than matters like houses for workers at future reactor stations, access roads, building heights, and sewers.

If the board were permitted to build a PWR at Sizewell it will be looking to build more of them, and the four sites it has designated

are likely candidates. Hinkley Point, which already has two reactor stations — Magnox and advanced gas-cooled — is the next on the CEB list for a new station. A fight to the finish is promised by the Alliance Against Hinkley C, linking about 50 groups on both sides of the Bristol Channel.

Mr Trevor Houghton, Alliance coordinator, comments: "Certainly, the board hopes the inquiry process will be devoted to purely local planning issues, but we are doing what we can to ensure it



The steam generating heavy water reactor at Winfrith, Dorset, where the CEB wants to add a nuclear-powered pressurised water reactor

does not happen."

The alliance is to make an issue, for instance, of safety, which it claims was not sufficiently covered at the Sizewell inquiry. But it has no illusions about the difficulty of winning local support around the plant where workers live.

Of the other new designated sites, which the board says are in no particular order of priority, Dungeness is the one where campaigners have the longest haul.

Winfrith opponents are counting on Dorset County Council to accept a PWR or

other addition to the station only if a national need were established and no non-nuclear alternative could be found.

The campaigners, concerned about alleged radioactive pollution from the existing plant, point to the possibility of reviving a coal-fired station project at Poole, among other options.

Druridge Bay is claimed to stand a good chance of remaining non-nuclear, since even groups who have no interest in nuclear power will rally to the defence of an outstandingly attractive area.

on the state — a night which they claim no longer exists in Britain.

The judge in the Greenham case had ruled in the lower court that the legality of the President's actions was a matter for the courts and not for political departments. His difficulty was that the issues put forward by the women were so wide and complex that he would not be able to deliver judgment on them.

Mr Hickman said that dozens of American peace groups were now considering their own case against the Government by keeping issues simple — such as the siting of arms factories near to homes — they were hoping to build up case law which questioned the legality of politicians' actions.

The situation in Britain was different, she said. If a nuclear protester tried to explain the state of mind which led him to cut the fence of a missile base it was ruled as inadmissible on political grounds.

The women began the action in October 1982, just before cruise missiles were deployed in Britain, on the grounds that the deployment was illegal. Although the case failed, the women believed that they have established a principle which allows the individual to take

the government has asked for talks with the Trades Union Congress on March 4 in an attempt to remove its ban on any form of nuclear dumping at sea.

An independent report commissioned jointly in December by the Government and the TUC recommended that the moratorium on sea dumping should continue until it could be shown that such such dumping was the best possible environmental option.

The Government said at the time that it accepted the findings. It now appears to be drawing a distinction between

dumping and what it calls "sea bed emplacement." For high level waste, this means dropping stainless steel torpedoes into the sea bed so that they bury themselves. For intermediate waste, it involves boring into the sea bed using oil extraction technology, and putting the waste barrels in the holes.

The Government's case has failed to impress the transport unions, however.

Mr Jim Slater, NUS general secretary, said: "As far as we are concerned, emplacement is dumping by another name. It is like changing the name of Windscale to Sellafield — it makes no difference to what actually happens."

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Flower power of CND in Wales

By Tony Heath

Sixty handbored replicas of giant daffodils and peace doves have been put up in a North Wales town to start a week of anniversary celebrations marking the decision by the principle's eight counties to declare their areas nuclear-free zones.

Mr Bob Cole, general secretary of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in Wales, who helped to decorate Blaenau Ffestiniog at the weekend, said yesterday that the celebrations, culminating in a national rally at Cardiff on Saturday, would underline the campaign's grassroots strength.

"More than 100 groups throughout Wales are staging their own events — meetings, debates, rallies, peace plays and street theatre. We have 100 birthday parties in the making," he said.

Mr Cole said the familiar CND badge worn in Wales incorporated the daffodil, the Blaenau Ffestiniog group's contribution was particularly effective, he said.

The embassies of every European country, the United States and Japan have been invited to send representatives to the Cardiff rally. CND hopes to present them with copies of a scroll, signed by the chairmen of the county councils, Labour and Plaid Cymru MPs and church and chapel dignitaries, declaring Wales's nuclear neutrality.

Mrs Joan Ruddock, chairman of CND, will cut a birthday cake after leading Saturday's march through the Welsh capital to Cardiff City Hall.



CND's celebrations blossom in Blaenau Ffestiniog

Mini-crime wave hits Falklands

From Joe Joyce

The Irish government will rely this week on the parliamentary support of three of its normal opponents to pass its controversial bill to make condoms available to everyone over 18.

Four defections from its own backbenchers have whittled away its normal Dail majority of five, while three other backbenchers are still considering abstaining. Barring further defections, the bill will be passed by Thursday.

The highly-charged debate has prompted the most serious breach between the state and the Roman Catholic Church since a previous coalition collapsed in the face of Church opposition to maternity benefits in 1951.

But the Church's opposition has helped to strengthen the hand of the Irish prime minister, Dr Garret FitzGerald, on this occasion.

The question of whether contraceptives should be more freely available has been overshadowed by the church-state conflict. Even members of the opposition Fianna Fáil party, which is opposing the bill on the grounds that it is unnecessary, privately want the measure to be passed.

As one of them put it yesterday: "This is a confrontation that the state has to win for all our sakes."

Dublin scents victory in fight to legalise condoms

From Joe Joyce

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The highly-charged debate has prompted the most serious breach between the state and the Roman Catholic Church since a previous coalition collapsed in the face of Church opposition to maternity benefits in 1951.

But the Church's opposition has helped to strengthen the hand of the Irish prime minister, Dr Garret FitzGerald, on this occasion.

The question of whether contraceptives should be more freely available has been overshadowed by the church-state conflict. Even members of the opposition Fianna Fáil party, which is opposing the bill on the grounds that it is unnecessary, privately want the measure to be passed.

As one of them put it yesterday: "This is a confrontation that the state has to win for all our sakes."

There are signs that the Church is drawing back. What surprised many politicians was the violence of its initial opposition, with two bishops declaring that Catholic politicians were obliged to follow its teachings, and that the bill would cause a "copulation explosion."

Divisions have been apparent within the church itself. Most of the bishops who have spoken have criticised the bill as being against the "common good," while agreeing that it is up to the legislators to make laws.

On the other hand, one Dublin priest has accused the opponents of the bill of "moral terrorism," a remark which gained him a rebuke from his superiors.

The tactics of the extreme right-wing organisation opposed to the bill have also been counter-productive, with a steady stream of hate mail, a kidnapping threat and a threat to burn a politician's home.

Ministers remain confident that the measure will be passed. Defeat would not cause the government's immediate collapse, but, allied to its economic problems, would severely weaken its authority.

Party managers believe that the four backbenchers who have declared their intention to oppose the bill are the only ones likely to vote with the opposition. On the other hand, two members of the Workers

Party and one independent, who normally oppose the Government will vote with it.

The danger remains that up to three other government backbenchers will abstain. But ministers hope that they will be balanced out by two other independents, including Mr Desmond O'Malley, a former challenger for the Fianna Fáil leadership, who was expelled from its parliamentary group last year for dispiriting Mr Charles Haughey's interpretation of the New Ireland Forum report.

Mr O'Malley is known to support the bill and has argued recently for a clearer distinction between Church and state in the Republic. His prospects of being admitted back into the Fianna Fáil parliamentary party will be greatly reduced if he supports the Government.

The setting headmaster, Mr Michael Hudson, confirmed yesterday that the "picket" had taken place on February 8.

"Local pit leaders did not welcome the demonstration at all, and have supported the school," he said.

Most of the miners at the Yorkshire Main Colliery are still on strike.

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Family's death prompts pleas for heat aid

By Susan Tirbitt

A 13-year-old boy, whose mother and sister were found dead in their council flat where the heaters were cold, died in St Thomas's Hospital, London, yesterday.

Michael Smith had been critically ill in intensive care after he was found with his mother, Mrs Helen Smith, aged 31, and 11-year-old sister, Natasha, in the flat in Edmund House, Duddington Grove, Waltham, London on Friday.

A hospital spokesman would not give the cause of Michael's death, or confirm that his mother and sister had died from hypothermia.

Southwark council is to make an investigation into the deaths after council officials regain access of the flat, which has been closed.

Gas central heating in the flat was working two days before Mrs Smith and Natasha were found dead, a Southwark council spokesman said. But a preliminary investigation after the family was found showed that the main jets would not ignite.

He said that Mrs Smith, a student, may have decided to do without heat because she had been worried by the prospect of mounting fuel bills.

Mr Tony Ritchie, Southwark council's health leader, said there could be more deaths if the authority did not get more government help to maintain essential services for needy people.

Calls for more government action to prevent hypothermia were made yesterday. Mr Nick Raynsford, of the Sheltered Housing Aid Centre, said on BBC Radio's The World this weekend that basic supplementary benefit level was inadequate.

Department of the Environment cuts did not enable local authorities to repair or maintain their properties, he said.

Age Concern also called for more government money for insulation and criticised "the shambles" over severe weather payments.

In the Commons this week, the DESS is expected to give details of how much extra money local authorities have spent this year on such payments, which are included in the review of supplementary benefit.

Age Concern also called for a cold line service which people could telephone for help in freezing weather, as part of a national programme of action against hypothermia.

It wants additional heating payments to be kept and more information to be given about insulation and grants available for the elderly.

The charity believes that the number of deaths from hypothermia among elderly people is underestimated because it is often associated with other causes of death, such as bronchopneumonia and heart disease.

Deaths indoors from hypothermia among young adults and children, other than babies, are rare. Mr Malcolm Wick, director of the Family Policy Studies Centre, who has studied hypothermia in Britain over 15 years, said yesterday that there were usually no more than five or six such deaths a year among children under 16.

Warnings on hypothermia have been distributed throughout Scotland by the South of Scotland Electricity Board. Anyone at risk in the current cold conditions, says the board, should be warned.

More than 100,000 leaflets have been distributed, giving directions on how to recognise the symptoms of hypothermia — drowsiness, mental confusion and unsteady movements — and how to help the victims.

OBITUARY War voice in Sweden

ALF MARTIN, who died in Brighton on Saturday aged 87, was Britain's second world war radio voice in Sweden.

He spent his early days on a farm in northern Sweden before going to Germany to study and then travelling widely as a merchant seaman.

From Britain, where he spent the last 50 years, he became well known as a broadcaster with a superb deep voice and as a newspaper correspondent — a Swedish *Alfred Cooke*. He was awarded an OBE in 1975. Three lively volumes of memoirs, written in extreme old age, became Swedish best sellers. — JK.

Author and traveller

THE EARL OF BIRKENHEAD has died, aged 48. As Robin Fumeaux, he wrote a book on the Amazon in 1969 which enjoyed immediate success. His book on William Shakespeare, published in 1974, was co-written by the Heinemann Award. He travelled extensively in China.

Frederick William Robin Smith, the only son of the second Earl of Birkenhead, succeeded his father in 1977. There is no heir to the title.

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Peter Hain

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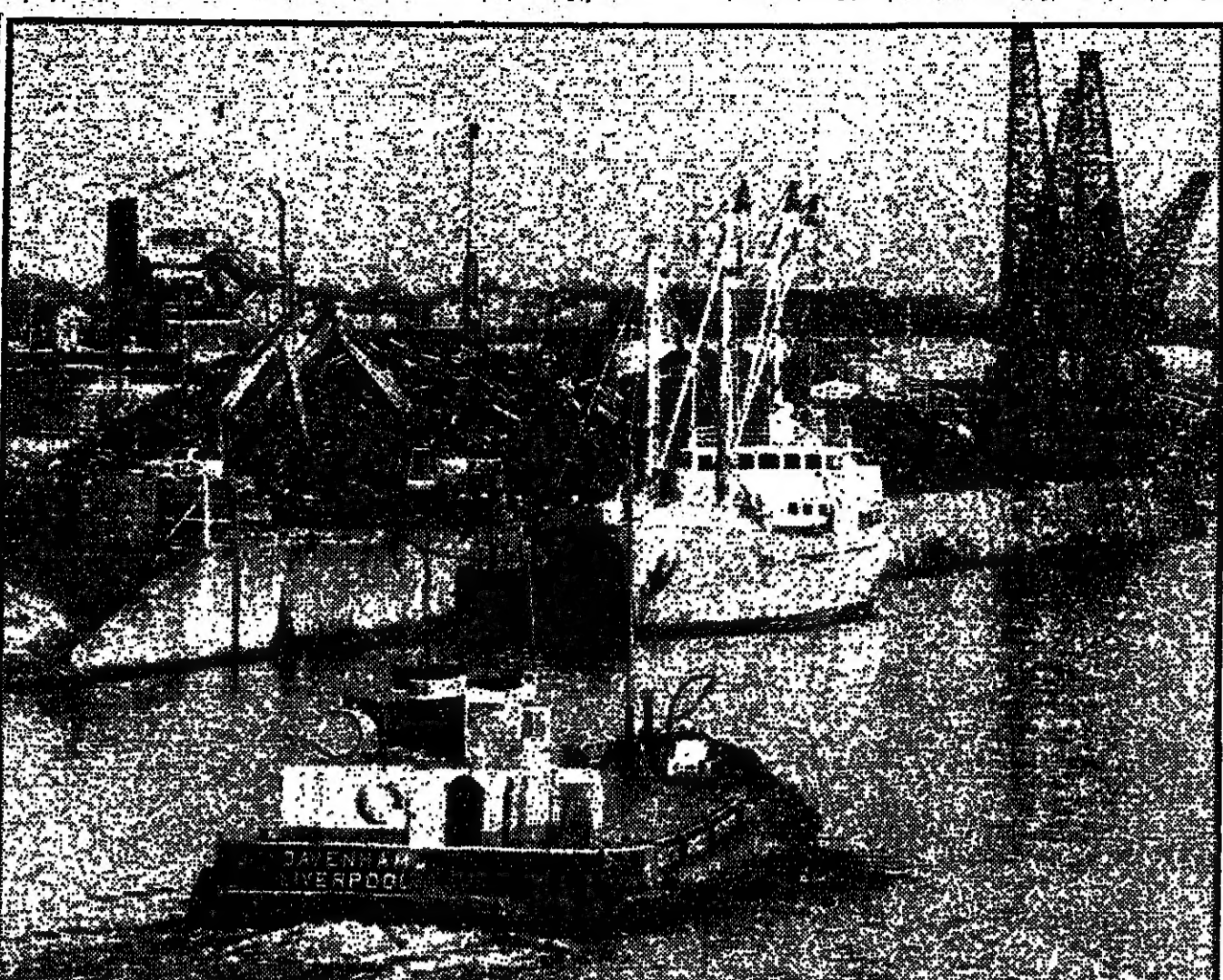
HOME NEWS

Family's death prompts pleas for heat aid

By Susan Tirnall
A family's death has prompted pleas for heat aid in a council area. The family, who live in a council house, have been struggling to pay the heating bills. The council has agreed to provide financial assistance to help them through the winter months.

Rampton staff protest over ward visits

By Seumas Milne
A row has broken out at Rampton high security mental hospital over a decision by management to reintroduce visiting to the wards, which has been banned by staff for several years. The special hospital's nurses, most of whom belong to the Prison Officers' Association, banned such visits by patients' relatives after a Thames Television documentary in 1979 made allegations of staff brutality. The nurses felt that ward visits were used to make ill-founded claims about patients' treatment, and until a week ago all visits took place under supervision in the assembly hall. The chairman of the Rampton branch of the POA, Mr. Gerry Madine, said yesterday that the move to reintroduce ward visiting had been made without consultation. "Communication between management and staff at Rampton is virtually nil," he said. The nurses had wanted the protection of an agreed complaints procedure before visiting was allowed again on the wards. But, according to the POA, the hospital's management has imposed a complaints procedure which the staff regard as inadequate. Mr. Madine said: "Should allegations be made against us at the wards, we will have to take and process the complaint, which could be against ourselves. Visiting in the assembly hall was supervised by a large number of nurses, he said. But Mrs. Marian Hendry, Rampton's chief nursing officer, said that the reintroduction of ward visits was a big step forward for the hospital. Many members of the nursing staff supported the move, she said. Mrs. Hendry and Mr. Madine agreed that despite the strong feelings the decision had aroused, patients and their visitors had been unaffected.



SIGN OF THE TIMES: Traffic is sparse on the upper reaches of the Manchester Ship Canal. Picture by Don McPhee

Ship canal lobby sees lifeline in leisure

GREATER Manchester Council has committed itself to a campaign to save the Manchester Ship Canal, the upper reaches of which are threatened with closure from 1987 because of the changing pattern of Britain's export trade. The waterway, built on the toll of 30,000 men between 1887 and 1894, is owned by the Manchester Ship Canal Company. It intends to close the 20-mile stretch between Runcorn and Manchester because it is no longer economically viable. Local authorities in the region, backed by trade unions, industrialists, MPs and various public bodies, took part in a public forum last week at which they supported the metropolitan council's view that other uses must be found. The waterway is wider than the Thames, deeper than any other canal in Europe, and in its day was one of the world's great engineering feats. However, £2 million was lost in 1983 and more last year. Alternative proposals include the introduction of Rhine-type barges for commercial cargo and the development of water-skiing, power-boating, sailboarding, pleasure sailing and hovercraft traffic. The committee is headed by Mr. Peter Scott, who also chairs Greater Manchester's planning committee. He said that about £20 million was needed to make the canal suitable for other uses but he was optimistic that the Government and the European Community would contribute to saving such an important heritage. "I am confident that if the money can be found we will have the canal with us in the 21st century," he said. A number of working groups are preparing ideas for his members and the waterway's commercial future is also being studied by an independent group of specialist consultants. Though the canal's seaward end, serving the motor assembly, petrochemical and paper industries around Ellesmere Port, is still profitable, the Port of Manchester—once Britain's third biggest—is all but derelict. Modern ocean-going vessels are too big for the upper reaches and increasing trade with Europe has diverted ships to ports on the south and east coasts. Manchester city council will have a large part in any final decision because it holds 11 of the 21 seats on the board of the Ship Canal Company. The city's Labour leader, Mr. Graham Stringer, believes that without public money, the waterway will become yet another expensive ruin to add to the region's existing industrial dereliction.

Payment ruled out for police presence at rallies

By Colin Brown, Political Staff
Ministers have ruled out the possibility of charging political parties for policing their rallies as part of the Home Office review of the Public Order Act. The possibility of charging unions for policing picket lines in the wake of the miners' dispute has also been rejected as impracticable. There were demands for the police to send political parties the bill for policing their rallies and marches after the disturbances surrounding events staged by the National Front. However, it is understood that ministers have confirmed their earlier view that parties, particularly those on the fringe of British politics, would evade the demands for payment, for example by requesting police protection under assumed names. Ministers also believe that there would be an outcry about the cost of policing for the small parties and there would be difficulties even for the principal parties in paying the bills caused by the heavy policing now judged necessary in the wake of the Brighton bombing. Some Tory supporters have urged the Government to issue bills to the National Union of Mineworkers for the cost of policing its picket lines during the miners' strike, but ministers feel that this, too, would be fraught with difficulty. The pickets could be disowned by their unions. They could also argue that they did not ask for a heavy police presence and therefore should not have to pay for it. It is expected that the Home Secretary, Mr. Leon Brittan, will announce his conclusions on the review around Easter, after obtaining Cabinet approval. It is unlikely that they will lead to fundamental changes in the law, although the police are expected to be offered new powers to control static demonstrations.

Stand on miners helped SDP poll rise—Owen

By Colin Brown, Political Staff
The rise in the Alliance parties' standing in an opinion poll to almost level par with Labour was attributed yesterday by the SDP leader, Dr. David Owen, to his firm approach to the miners' dispute. He admitted in an interview on the Channel 4 News Press programme that there had been dissent within the SDP about the leadership's stance on the strike, but Dr. Owen said his views had been vindicated. The Alliance poll rating showing a rise of 81 per cent in a month was dismissed yesterday as a freak result by a shadow cabinet member, Mr. Robin Cook, who has special responsibility for Labour's campaign strategy. Interviewed on the BBC Television programme This Week, Mr. Cook said that in other polls the Alliance was shown to be 10 points behind Labour. But the Alliance leaders are determined to use the poll finding by Gallup last week as hard evidence that they are about to overtake Labour as the credible alternative to the Tories. Both sides view the forthcoming May local elections as a test of this challenge. The Gallup Poll showed that the Alliance parties had risen from 25 per cent to 31 per cent in a month, and were only 1 per cent behind Labour, which had 32 per cent. The Conservatives had slipped to 35 per cent. Dr. Owen said that some members of the Alliance, Liberal and SDP, were afraid that it would lose votes by having a decisive view against Scargillism. "I always said when this dispute came all the votes would not go back to the Labour Party... I always thought that after the miners' dispute was over (and I think most people now feel it's really over) that the Alliance would pick up votes because they would have seen on an absolutely core issue we were a governing force, that we were prepared to see off Arthur Scargill," he said. He also indicated that he would ensure that the Alliance fought the next general election on a defence policy which did not call for the unilateral removal of nuclear weapons from Britain, despite the endorsement of this policy by the Liberal assembly last autumn.

5 bus garages to go

By Geoff Andrews, Transport Correspondent
Five London bus garages are to close in the next year as part of the streamlining of London Regional Transport. The closures, at Battersea, Poplar, Edmonton, Waltham, and Southall, are planned to eliminate excess garaging capacity for the fleet of 8,100 buses. Long-term forecasts suggest a decline in passengers of between 1.5 and 1 per cent a year for the foreseeable future. LRT is cutting its scheduled mileage by 5 million—2.8 per cent—over the next year. At the same time conversion to driver-only operation will cover almost 70 per cent of the fleet by this time next year, and phase out bus conductors within eight years. Few jobs will go through garage closures, and unions have been told there will be no compulsory redundancies so long as they cooperate with the programme. But more jobs could be threatened through the programme of route tendering, which has already been started on an experimental basis to allow private bus operators to take over selected routes for a set fee and hand over the takings to LRT. With 61 garages throughout London, many of them in valuable development sites, LRT, which is now controlled by the Department of Transport, is the owner of a multi-million pound property portfolio, but only the Battersea site, on the Thames, is likely to attract much interest in the current closure programme.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Drop in gaol population in Ulster

ULSTER'S prison population has dropped by a third in the past six years, despite the continuing violence. Unlike the UK and Irish Republic, where overcrowding has badly disrupted the gaol system, every prisoner will have his own cell by 1986, if the new prison at Maghaberry, County Antrim is completed on time. According to official figures, there were 2,947 prisoners in Ulster's four gaols in 1978, but three years later that figure had dropped to 2,500, and by the end of 1984 the total was 2,100.

Four join Scottish Arts Council

THE Arts Council of Great Britain has announced four new appointees to serve on the Scottish Arts Council for a three-year period. They are the poet and writer Ian Crichton Smith, Professor Iain Macleod, holder of the Forbes Chair of Architecture at Edinburgh University, Mr. Geoffrey Ball, managing director of Cala Homes, and Mr. Michael Clayton, a director of Christie's in London and Christie's and Edmondson's of Glasgow.

Double beds for maternity units

DOUBLE beds are to be provided in the maternity units of six Lincolnshire hospitals to enable husbands to comfort their wives if they have lost a baby, or if the baby is seriously ill. A spokesman for North Lincolnshire health authority said yesterday that in the past, the husband was forced to sit in a chair nearby to try to comfort his wife.

First class post found wanting

A SURVEY of the mail service provided by the Post Office found that of 7,000 first class letters surveyed, only 89 per cent were delivered by the following day. The survey, carried out last summer and reported today by the Mail Users' Association, revealed that quality of service is just not good enough, according to the association's executive director, Mr. Michael Corby.

Appeal for end to badger baiting

POLICE joined the RSPCA yesterday in appealing for public help in ending the illicit badger baiting sport, which is most popular in southern England, Wales, and the area between Staffordshire and Carlisle.

End of the Towey salmon feared

By Paul Heyland
ONE of the finest salmon rivers in Wales will have lost its fish by 1990 unless urgent measures are taken to protect it, the Welsh Water Authority has been warned. A report on the river Towey by the Carmarthen Shire Fishermen's Federation claims that the decline in catches could have disastrous consequences for the area's tourist industry. "The man is already born, I fear, who will boast of having caught the last Towey salmon, certainly of the spring or summer run," said Mr. Gerth Roberts, the federation's secretary. The report said that the decline of the salmon began with the construction of the Llyn Brianne reservoir, completed in 1972. The dam blocked off miles of spawning grounds in the upper reaches of the Towey. A scheme to trap and transfer the fish had failed. Water discharged from the reservoir was excessively cold and had made a 10-mile section of the river sterile. In addition, factory fishing at sea and estuary netting left the salmon with little chance of getting back into the river.

Reading the tales of the river bank

The Greater Gurn-brook Plan will shortly join the other fauna of Britain's river banks in a survey by the Countryside Commission. The quango is spending £35,000 in an attempt to discover the effects of drainage and flood control on the landscape. Planners from a London consultancy will visit a variety of river valleys in different regions, with particular attention paid to East Anglia and the Midlands. The commission is concerned that some methods of water management may be threatening one of the last unaltered areas of the countryside. Mr. Keith Turner, a land management adviser with the commission, said that not enough was known about the state of the valleys, but there was evidence that change was having a destructive effect. The commission is anxious to influence government policy on water management and the rural landscape, which is under review by a Whitehall committee. Representatives from the Treasury, environment, and agriculture ministries, have been meeting for almost two years but have yet to report in writing about the state of the rivers. Part of the difficulty is the absence of detailed information of the sort the commission's survey is expected to unearth. The consultants involved are Travers Morgan of Covent Garden, whose previous briefs include road surveys and studies of the trees and statuary at Chiswick House in London, and Hampton Court Palace. An increased risk of flooding of farmland is likely to result from government cuts in financial support for water authorities. The Country Landowners' Association (CLA) has told the Minister of Agriculture. Mr. Peter Giffard, the CLA president, has written to Mr. Michael J. Giffard, the Minister, that the cuts increase the possibility of the kind of disastrous flooding which has led in the past to loss of crops and livestock, damage to buildings, and where seawater is involved, long-term damage to soil structure. It was far more expensive to repair damage of this kind than to provide adequate protection against it, Mr. Giffard said. "It seems inevitable that if the government policy is maintained expenditure on drainage will be reduced over the next few years. Water authorities had been told to assess schemes in an order of priority which would put agricultural flood protection at the bottom of the list, and this meant that those schemes which would benefit farmers would be the first to be abandoned."

End of the Towey salmon feared

By Paul Heyland
ONE of the finest salmon rivers in Wales will have lost its fish by 1990 unless urgent measures are taken to protect it, the Welsh Water Authority has been warned. A report on the river Towey by the Carmarthen Shire Fishermen's Federation claims that the decline in catches could have disastrous consequences for the area's tourist industry. "The man is already born, I fear, who will boast of having caught the last Towey salmon, certainly of the spring or summer run," said Mr. Gerth Roberts, the federation's secretary. The report said that the decline of the salmon began with the construction of the Llyn Brianne reservoir, completed in 1972. The dam blocked off miles of spawning grounds in the upper reaches of the Towey. A scheme to trap and transfer the fish had failed. Water discharged from the reservoir was excessively cold and had made a 10-mile section of the river sterile. In addition, factory fishing at sea and estuary netting left the salmon with little chance of getting back into the river.

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Whitehall anxious to avoid
another Chequers debacle

Anglo-Irish talks in abeyance until the summer

From Paul Johnson
in Belfast

It now seems unlikely that there will be another full-scale Anglo-Irish summit for several months, possibly not until the summer.

This is despite an agreement made last November, during the Chequers meeting which resulted in something of a de facto, that the two sides would sit down again, some time, in the new year.

Mrs Thatcher and the Irish Prime Minister, Dr Garret FitzGerald, are expected to meet next month at the European Council of Ministers. But that summit would run the risk of prejudicing the local government elections in Northern Ireland, being held in May.

The delay suits both sides. Government officials in the North want to avoid creating expectations which cannot be fulfilled, as happened before the last summit.

They also want the next meeting to show positive results. Since private discussions between the two sides are a long way short of tangible achievement, there is little desire for the kind of public repetition of differences that occurred last November when Mrs Thatcher dismissed the Forum report and Anglo-Irish

relations dipped to another low.

While the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Mr Douglas Hurd, has made it clear that the Irish Government cannot have an executive role in the affairs of the province, officials in the North are looking for a way that would give the Irish a "defined output".

This could come in the form of a ministerial committee which would advise on a whole range of matters. The delay in any top-level meeting also gives Mr Hurd time to work on internal policy in Northern Ireland.

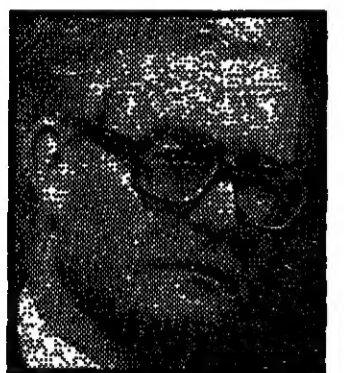
Although the proposed inter-party talks between the Social Democratic and Labour Party and the two Unionist groups are now in abeyance because of Mr John Hume's promise to meet the army council of the IRA, Mr Hurd is still hopeful that the meetings will eventually go ahead.

After the May local government elections there is a gap of 17 months before the next polls, for the Northern Ireland Assembly, are held in October 1985.

Mr Hurd is expected to use this period to put through a package of measures recognising the Irish identity of the majority community in the North.

This includes repealing at least part of the Flags and Emblems Act which makes it illegal to fly a tricolour — the national flag of the Republic — in circumstances where a breach of the peace is likely. There may also be changes in legislation which at present allows street names in English only.

Although keen to see these changes through, the Government is wary about their timing, and will certainly delay them until after the local elections for fear of being seen to support the SDLP at a time when it is under pressure from Sinn Féin.



Douglas Hurd: legislative changes planned in North

Hockey trip divides bereaved

By Paul Hayward

Relatives of the 33 Welsh guardsmen who died at Bluff Cove during the Falklands conflict were divided yesterday over plans by the Welsh women's hockey team to take part in an international competition in Argentina next month.

Mr John Nicholson, the South Wales organiser of the Falklands Families Association, whose 19-year-old son was killed in the bombing of the support ship Sir Galahad, said it was too early to re-establish such links.

Diplomatic relations had not been resumed and he believed at least five years should elapse before sporting contacts were reopened.

He was inundated with telephone calls from members of the association who were opposed to the visit, but some families were divided over the issue.

Mr Donald Thomas, who lost a 20-year-old son at Bluff Cove, said: "We have got Argentinian parents grieving for some exactly the same as we are. We're still going through hell after all this time, and a game of hockey makes no difference to the way we feel."

"I can't see any reason why the hockey team should not go, but my wife thinks differently. She says people forget too easily."

Mr Keith Raffan, Tory MP for Delyn, Gwynedd, said: "Since Argentina has not officially ended the hostilities it started and it is extraordinary that this visit should go ahead. I shall be raising the matter in the House of Commons."

Representatives of the hockey squad, which will be the first national team from Britain to visit Argentina since the conflict, said yesterday that there had been a great deal of heart-searching about whether to compete in the Intercontinental Cup.

The International Hockey Association had chosen Argentina as the venue and Wales could not qualify for the hockey world cup if it did not compete.

The team would not be touring Argentina, and the visit had been fully discussed with the players, who had consulted their families. The Foreign Office had not objected to the visit which had been approved by the Sports Council.

A spokesman for the Welsh Women's Hockey Association added: "Everybody was asked to search their conscience about this and we have not done it without considering the personal feelings of people."

She believed that many people whose relatives had died might be pleased that others were now starting to reopen a friendship with Argentina, which had strong links with Wales.

The team captain, Margaret Medlar, said: "We have searched our hearts as to whether we should go, but we have to go there to put Wales back into the world cup."

'Unhealthy example' of school food

CHILDREN are being led into bad eating habits at school by cafeteria meals which are more popular than the traditional set lunch, a teachers' organisation said yesterday.

Many education authorities encourage cafeteria counters "offering food too high in fat and sugar and low in dietary fibre. It is virtually chips with everything", said the Assistant Masters and Mistresses Association, which has 95,000 members in more than 10,000 schools and colleges.

"The vast majority of authorities have abandoned traditional school dinners in favour of cash cafeteria systems which are preferred by the pupils, who are generally neither interested in diet nor nutritional content."

"There is now ample evidence that our national eating habits are unhealthy and it could be that education authorities, however well-meaning, are reinforcing bad eating habits which children should be educated out of, not encouraged to carry over into the home."

If, through financial pressure and consumer choice, the schoolburger is here to stay, is it enough to give consumers what they want if what they turn out to be an investment in national ill-health?

The association's report said that children bought chips instead of the cheaper mashed potatoes, and baked beans instead of cheaper fresh vegetables.

"A drive to put nutrition education on the curriculum map might increase the education budget, but the evidence is growing that the result would be a healthier nation and therefore make less demands on the National Health Service."

Warnock hits back

Support for Mr Enoch Powell's controversial bill banning experiments on human embryos was orchestrated before last week's Commons debate, Dame Mary Warnock claimed yesterday.

MPs gave a 172-vote majority in a free vote on Friday in favour of a second reading of Mr Powell's unborn children protection bill. It would only allow the fertilisation of a human embryo outside the womb specifically to enable a particular woman to give birth and goes against last year's Warnock Committee report.

Dismissing Mr Powell's proposals as "a very curious bill", Dame Mary said yesterday: "I have been aware that there has been an enormous amount of opinion, orchestrated in a way, building up against what we recommend."

Leader comment, page 12

BRITISH SCREEN FINANCE CONSORTIUM

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◆ HAMPSHIRE ◆

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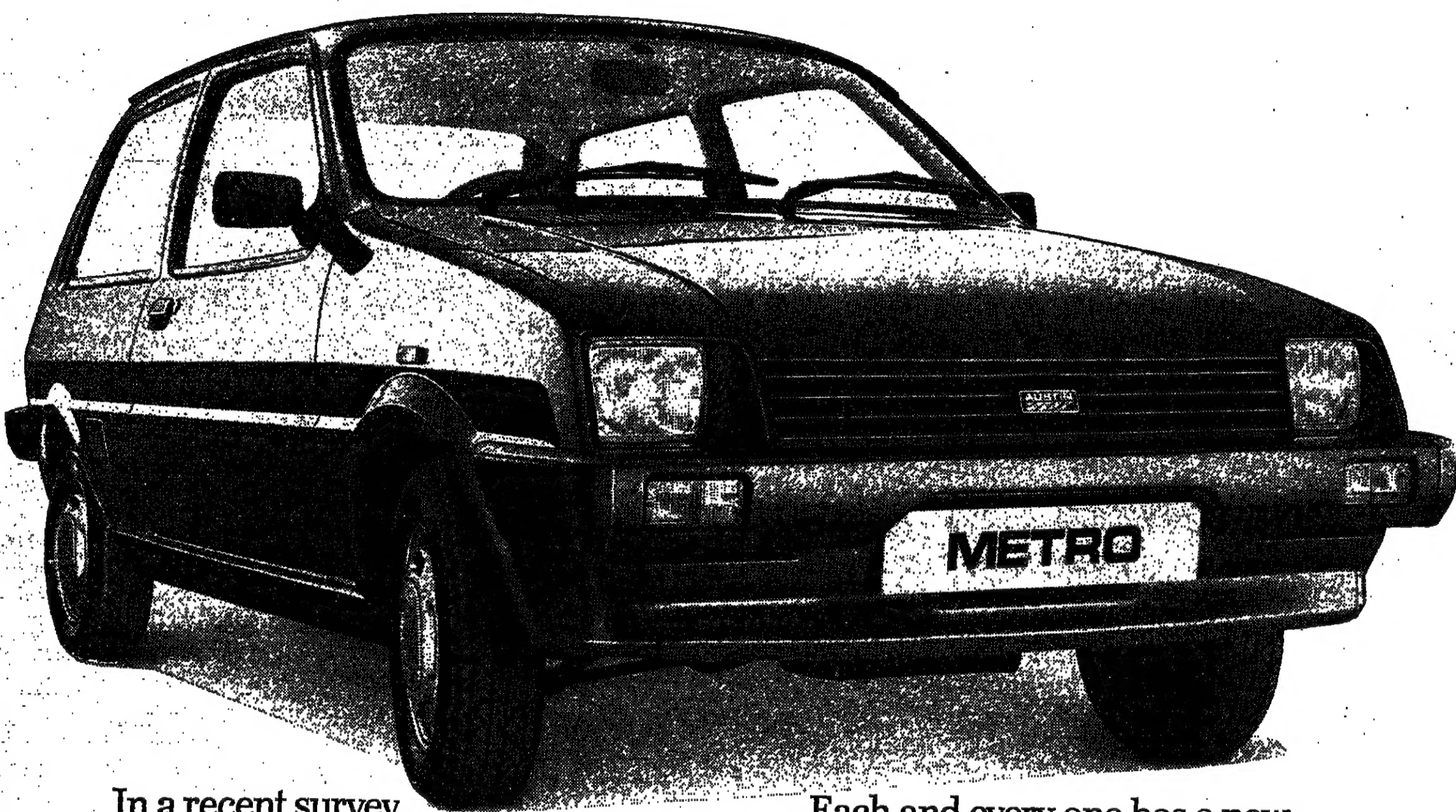
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Contras seek common front
to improve political image

Rebels plan to set up 'government' in Nicaragua

From Jonathan Steele in
San José, Costa Rica

A new effort to improve the political image of the CIA-backed "contras" fighting the Sandinistas has been launched by rebel leaders and some key members of the civilian opposition. They intend to set up a "provisional government" in the north-eastern region of Nicaragua before the end of the year, according to Mr Alfonso Robelo, of the Costa Rican based Revolutionary Democratic Alliance (Arde).

He says they also plan to publish a programme of unity next month. The new unity front arises from a series of meetings in the past few weeks in Washington and Miami, and is clearly aimed at persuading Congress to renew funds for the rebels. If possible, instead of secretly, Mr Robelo also says that the front will increase diplomatic, economic and political pressures on the Sandinistas, and help secure support from foreign governments. He says he has already received money from at least two European and two Latin American governments,

although he declines to name them.

The new move is the latest in a long line of unity efforts prompted by the Reagan Administration. It has still not got the support of Eden Pastora, who has between 2,000 and 4,000 men operating in Nicaragua's border regions near Costa Rica. However, it does include two leading civilian opposition figures, Mr Arturo Cruz, candidate of the three right-wing parties in the 1984 elections, and Mr Francisco Castellón, a leader of the Democratic Front. They decided to boycott the recent Nicaraguan elections, and Mr Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, the editor of the newspaper La Prensa, who has gone into exile. The aim is to improve the contras' political image in the short term, but a longer term goal is to combine the political and military wings of the rebel movement. Mr Robelo says that the exile opposition wants to give the Sandinistas "a final proposal, a take-it-or-leave-it offer, which they must accept within a couple of weeks." He declines to go into details, but says it includes de-



mands for freedom of expression, free elections, the removal of foreign advisers, and the separation of party and State. If the Sandinistas reject the document, as seems likely, the opposition hopes that the outside world will then accept the legitimacy of the armed rebel struggle. This would be centred round the setting-up of a "provisional government" inside Nicaragua. Mr Robelo says: "I'm saying to Congress: if you want to be the side of democracy, you shouldn't only pro-



vide enough money to harass and kill the Sandinistas. You have to give us the possibility to win." Meanwhile, Arturo Cruz, after a secret trip into southern Nicaragua last week, told journalists here, where he is opening an office, that he was impressed with rebel morale, but said they were in dire need of supplies. Doyle McManus adds from Washington: The Reagan Administration has abandoned its policy of aid to the Nicaraguan rebels is justified because they

Mexico tourist warning urged

From Peter Chapman
in Mexico City

Reports of two more Americans having disappeared in Mexico are likely to increase pressure on the State Department in Washington to issue a formal warning to Americans to stay away from Mexico. This could be disastrous since the majority of Mexico's 4.5 million tourists each year come from north of the border.

Mr John Walker, a Vietnam war veteran living on his disability pension in Mexico, second city of Guadalajara, and a friend visiting him from the US, have not been seen for two weeks. US embassy officials say the signs at Mr Walker's home are that he had not intended to leave for an extended time.

The incident follows the kidnapping 10 days ago of a US government anti-drug agent in Guadalajara. He is believed to have been abducted by people connected with Mexican drug gangs who ply a lucrative trade route to the US. The agent has not been seen since, despite a \$50,000 reward offer.

In December, two Jehovah's Witness couples also disappeared in Mexico.

The US embassy is considering a proposal that a formal warning — known as a tourist advisory — should be issued by Washington against tourists coming, especially around areas by Pacific coastal resorts and Guadalajara.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Clash at Nkomo rally

POLICE fired teargas to break up fighting among several thousand supporters of Zimbabwe's ruling Zanu-PF and opposition Zapo parties in the Midlands town of Kwekwe yesterday.

The Zapo leader, Mr Joshua Nkomo, who has addressed all election campaigns in the town, abruptly cancelled it and drove back to Harare, complaining that the ruling party was preventing him from campaigning.

Witnesses said about 3,000 Zanu-PF supporters marched to the Zapo offices in Kwekwe where fighting broke out with about 1,000 opposition supporters who had gathered for the rally. The groups, armed with stones and clubs, clashed for nearly three hours until police fired teargas, they said. — Reuters.

Flood deaths

FOUR people were killed when flooding caused by heavy rain devastated several parts of New Zealand's North Island and destroyed dozens of houses at the weekend. In Te Aroha, south-east of Auckland, the worst affected area, 50 houses were destroyed when a wall of mud, silt and water poured down from a nearby hill. Three members of one family died when their house was swept away. — Reuters.

Flag protest

A PAKISTANI Shia Muslim group has condemned a banner on the destruction of the shrine of the Prophet Muhammad in the Israeli flag. The group said that the banner was a crime. The fundamentalist Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Fiqh-Jafri group said yesterday that its members would protest against the decision. — Reuters.

Spy suspect

INDIAN police have arrested a 17th suspect in the country's spy scandal, the Press Trust of India reported yesterday. It said a retired government official, unnamed, had been remanded in custody until February 22. PTI quoted intelligence sources as saying the retired official was arrested after a confession by another suspect. — Reuters.

Debray move

MR REGIS DEBRAY, aide to President Mitterrand, will leave the presidential palace for the Council of State, the French government's official journal said yesterday. Mr Debray, aged 44, has been the President's counselor on international affairs since April 1984. — AP.

Corsica bombs

THREE bombs set by separatists exploded yesterday in the headquarters of the French Army's 55th division in Ajaccio, Corsica, causing serious damage but no injuries, authorities said. No one immediately claimed responsibility for the attack. — AP.

New heart

MURRAY HAYDON, aged 58, became the world's third recipient of an artificial heart yesterday after the four-hour operation in Louisville, Kentucky. A spokesman for the Humana Heart Institute for International said the heart was beating and working fine. — AP.

Kanak clash

ELEVEN people were hurt, two badly, in police clashes with pro-independence militants in New Caledonia yesterday. Police used teargas, concussion grenades and truncheons to disperse a group of about 50 militant Kanaks near the town of Thio, witnesses said. — Reuters.

Battle of wills in EEC over providing food aid

From Derek Brown
in Brussels

Foreign ministers of the EEC will meet here today to consider adopting a package of food aid measures for 1985 even though no budget has yet been approved.

Less than a 100 yards away, the EEC Commission will be considering its own emergency package of aid, and preparing, if necessary, to defy the Council of Ministers by implementing it illegally.

The food aid row is a classic illustration of the continuing battle of wills between the 10 national governments and the Community institutions about who should control the chaotic policy making machinery of Europe.

The Council of Ministers, representing the 10 governments, is at loggerheads with the European Parliament over the 1985 budget. The failure of the joint budget authority to agree spending levels for this year, has left the Commission as the third institutional pillar of the Community, groping for a financial formula to underwrite all the brave political promises of huge aid to Africa.

So long as the 1985 budget is blocked, Parliament refused to endorse it in De-

cember — the Commission will be obliged to restrict spending in any given area to last year's level, the cash being paid out by the 10 member states in monthly instalments. The Commission is now preparing to challenge this makeshift system in two ways.

First, the development commissioner, Mr Lorenzo Natali, is preparing a programme of food aid for the first third of this year. It will be based, as the rules demand, on 1984 spending limits, but will in effect compress four months of cash allocations into two — with or without the necessary approval of the Council of Ministers.

Second, Mr Natali will today be urging the Commission to adopt an extra package of emergency food aid measures for the drought-stricken Sahel countries, whatever the Council decides.

The power struggle in Brussels could cause severe hiccups in the complex business of transferring surplus food to the desperate needy of Africa. But it will not choke the aid flow all together.

The 10 national leaders, at the Dublin summit pledged 1.2 million tonnes of food aid for Africa, before the next local harvest — that is, by Novem-

ber this year. The Community itself was committed to supplying 800,000 tonnes, and the member states will supply the rest as bilateral aid.

The Dublin promise is well on the way to reality, to the extent that the three ports of Ethiopia are utterly clogged with food awaiting scarce transport to the interior. Logistics, rather than quantities or even cash, remain the most urgent problem.

Last week's complaint by the Conservative MP, Sir Anthony Kershaw, that EEC aid to the Sudan was being delayed by "bureaucratic arithmetic" was a pained reply that 37,000 tonnes of emergency aid was already on its way or promised, and that the Community was already helping to solve transport and planning problems.

Commission officials point out that to equate EEC food mountains with starvation in Africa is often misleading. The 16,000 Olympic-sized swimming pools of stored wine are even more undrinkable in the Sahel than they are here. The million tonnes of butter and the 800,000 tonnes of beef, are similarly inappropriate to famine relief. We shall eat dirt, page 17

More US pressure on Lange

From Alex Brummer
in Washington

THE US is stepping up diplomatic pressure on New Zealand, with the cancellation of a second set of military exercises and a decision to review security relations with Wellington.

The latest US retaliation in its nuclear row with Wellington, has been the calling off of an anti-submarine exercise due to have been held near Hawaii, headquarters of the US Pacific Fleet, on February 23.

The US explains its tough action against New Zealand as an attempt to control what it calls a nuclear allergy among its allies. As part of its campaign to bring New Zealand back into line, the US says it is considering ending its policy of sharing intelligence information with it.

The dispute between the US and New Zealand began earlier this month when the New Zealand Prime Minister, Mr David Lange, refused port access to a US destroyer which may have been carrying nuclear weapons. The US says this is a serious breach in the ANZUS treaty.

Unesco fails to face cash crisis

Paris: Unesco faced an uncertain future yesterday, after an all-night session of its executive board failed to agree on how to tackle a financial crisis caused by the withdrawal of the United States.

The 22-hour of often acrimonious debates produced only a vague invitation to the director-general, Mr M'bow, to examine the question of possible adjustments to the next two-year programme and budget, due to be published in draft next month.

Diplomats said that the compromise resolution adopted at the end of the five-day extraordinary board meeting postponed or avoided almost all vital decisions. Mr M'bow complained several times that its wording meant little or nothing, and gave him no clear directives.

He said that the board was trying to shift the responsibility on to him for deciding spending cuts. "It is up to you to decide on recommendations... I will not assume your responsibilities," he said.

Western countries failed in one of their key aims of persuading the 160-member UN agency to plan immediately for a 25 per cent cut in the 1985-87 budget, following the US

withdrawal last December that deprived it of a quarter of its funds.

The board also shelved a decision on the sensitive issue of whether Washington is legally bound to pay the second half of its 1984-85 budget contribution, as some Unesco officials insist.

Possible budget cuts will now have to be discussed at another board session in May, and at the agency's general conference in Sofia in October.

The United States' decision to quit after complaints that Unesco was mismanaged and over-politicised under Mr M'bow's leadership, created a \$43 million shortfall in the current budget.

Mr M'bow said that staff and administrative cuts would save up to \$15 million this year, France had offered an extra \$2 million, and other countries, including the Soviet Union, an additional \$4 million.

Diplomats said that the discord during the five-day extraordinary board meeting confirmed a fundamental split between Western countries and the one hand and Third World and communist states on the other, and raised the prospect of further resignations.

Gromyko trip is still on

Moscow: Tass announced

yesterday that the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr Andrei Gromyko, will visit Italy later this month, a possible sign that the Kremlin does not fear an imminent leadership crisis because of the ill health of President Konstantin Chernenko.

It said that Mr Gromyko would visit Italy at the end of February at Italy's invitation. Italy said last week that the trip would take place from February 25-28.

There has been persistent speculation that Mr Chernenko, 73, who is believed to suffer from emphysema, has not been seen by outsiders since December 27.

On Tuesday the Russians cancelled a meeting between Mr Chernenko and the visiting Greek leader, Mr Andreas Papandreu, because Mr Chernenko was ill. — AP.

Thoroughly modern Zhivkov leads on into 21st century

From Hella Pick
in Sofia

BULGARIA'S 73-year-old leader, Todor Zhivkov, tells Western visitors that he is "a professional revolutionary."

This small, compact man is an enthusiast for change who thoroughly disarmed Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Foreign Secretary, last week when he explained how the Bulgarian revolution, while retaining "its socialist framework, is quite ready to absorb a fair dash of capitalism."

"You can't be a revolutionary," he told the Bulgarian Communist Party's central committee, "without becoming part of the modern technological and scientific revolution."

The central committee has adopted a programme to take Bulgaria into the twenty-first century as a thoroughly modernised country.

The strategy involves an overhaul of the planning system and considerable decentralisation, politically as well as economically. Private enterprise is not on the cards. But profitability and the profit motive are key features of "the

new economic mechanism" which is to be refined still further in Bulgaria.

Equally important is an overhaul of the educational system, with a drive to create a pool of scientific personnel and adapt Bulgaria to the computer age.

"Our scientific and technological revolution must not be an elitist endeavour," said one of Mr Zhivkov's advisers. "It is everybody's concern." The party's task, he added, "must be to lead progress and never to block it."

These are very much the sentiments of Mr Zhivkov himself, who has already demonstrated that a prudent strategy of economic change can achieve excellent results.

Although the fact is still not widely recognised, Bulgaria today is out-performing other East European countries. It has a steady growth rate, unburdened by a large hard currency debt. It has ample food supplies, and there are no serious energy shortages. The country's foreign trade turnover is substantially bigger than any of the other Balkan

countries, including Greece and Turkey.

In spite of these achievements, Bulgaria has not managed to shed its image of a strictly orthodox Communist state, whose little-known leader is considered a faithful acolyte of Moscow operating behind a light net of party bureaucracy.

So it came as a considerable surprise when Mr Zhivkov unexpectedly chatted with British journalists who had come to Sofia with Sir Geoffrey Howe, cracked jokes with the Foreign Secretary even at the expense of the Soviet Union, and then agreed to an informal interview with the Guardian.

The only other person present was his interpreter, "my personal computer," as he described her, an attractive woman diplomat who amazes with her competence.

Mr Zhivkov has been Bulgaria's leader for 30 years. He has the cheerful relaxed manner of a thoroughly self-assured personality, but behind the veneer there clearly lurks a sly and very crafty mind.

Nobody doubts that he still feels the death of his daughter



Mr Zhivkov: "part of the team"

Ludmilla. In 1981, whose cosmopolitan outlook and determination to modernise Bulgaria has clearly influenced him. Mr Zhivkov clearly decided that the best way to keep her memory fresh was to pursue the same ends and keep himself hale and hearty.

Mr Zhivkov insists that he

has had "a very conventional career as a professional revolutionary," who has steadily moved up the political ladder in a communist hierarchy. He began his working life as a printer, but he soon became involved in revolutionary work.

He decided to study for a law degree, but confrontation with Bulgaria's pre-war regime soon became inevitable, and the university had to be abandoned to the underground. He was often arrested. "I have a rich police record," he says, "but I have no convictions."

During the war he became the political as well as the military leader of Sofia's underground network, which meant he was extremely well placed for promotion after the Communist takeover.

In 1954, he became the youngest member of the Bulgarian Politburo. Today he is the oldest member of the country's ruling group.

"There is nothing mechanical" about his decision to promote youth into top jobs everywhere. "I used to see the Politburo as a sort of medieval guild, where everyone holds on

to power until he drops. But now I realise that this is wrong. The generation that fought for the revolution has to give way to those who have brought up in the socialist system."

Mr Zhivkov was hesitant to discuss his leadership qualities. "Without trying to make propaganda, I want you to understand that I'm a communist, trying to live up to the ideals of socialist philosophy."

"Even though I am the leader, I am part of the team. I believe in collective wisdom, and I like to explore ideas especially with small groups of people. I consult as widely as possible, with intellectuals and the scientific community as well as with those who have to translate theory into practice."

He doesn't just go to the senior figures in the system. Anyone can join my brains trust who impresses me."

Mr Zhivkov added: "I am rather quick at recognising the real ability of people. I suppose I am a good judge of character."

He often travels unannounced without publicity, and

Icy Romania dreams of oil

Bucharest: In a winter when temperatures have fallen to minus 20 centigrade, and domestic energy supplies have all but collapsed, Romania's hope of finding oil under the black Sea has become a national dream.

But the likelihood that the country's three offshore platforms, to be augmented by a fourth this year, can strike oil, boost existing production, and relieve the crisis, is remote.

It is a dream shared by the Communist rulers, struggling with the effects of past ambitious industrialisation schemes and disappointed by Moscow's reluctance to bail out its ally.

As temperatures plunged in the capital this winter, central heating, cooking gas, and hot water failed in many apartment blocks.

Under decrees posted as the crisis grew last year, the use of many electrical appliances, including heaters, was banned.

Only one light bulb, maximum 40 watts, is allowed per room. Since a knee-deep snowfall on January 10, private cars have been barred from the streets, which minimal use of street lighting leave dark and sinister at night.

Mr Petre Christescu, the deputy director of the State Planning Committee, becomes enthusiastic when speaking of the explorations in the Black Sea.

"There is an indication that there is oil and gas. We are assessing the size of the finds," he said, in an office heated to tepid level.

In burst of the sometimes extravagant optimism with which Romanian official statements are imbued, he added: "We hope this will even contribute to our needs this year."

Western oil experts are more cautious, believing any such contribution could only be small.

The rocketing world oil price of the past 12 years has created a two-fold challenge to Romanian planners — to meet domestic demand, and to feed the enormous refining capacities developed as an export earner when crude oil was cheap.

Romania was a pioneer oil producer, and the 11.5 million tonnes of domestic production last year was only about 1.5 million tonnes short of covering home needs.

The Deputy Foreign Trade Minister, Mr Ion Stancu, said that imports last year were about 11.5 million tonnes, the bulk of it being refined into goods for export.

A drive to repay foreign debts from the 1970s has dominated economic policy in the past three years, and the emphasis is on feeding this demand rather than the home market. — Reuters.

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It's called Speedlink Distribution, and in the last few years more and more companies have been plugging in to it. Why?

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Monday February 18 1985

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why?

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Amritsar believes the Sant is back

From Ajay Bose in New Delhi

"SANT Bhindrawale is alive. He was here in Amritsar last week," said my Sikh taxi driver excitedly as he drove me from the airport to the hotel.

At the hotel, the Hindu bell-boy repeated the story, but in a worried tone. "Are you sure that his corpse was properly identified?" he kept asking. Amritsar has again been buzzing with rumours that the extremist leader is alive and in the city on a mission of vengeance. The story spread like wildfire, and as jubilant Sikh youths shouted slogans, Hindu shopkeepers closed their shutters.

So strong and persistent were the rumours that even the army, mostly confined to barracks, came out in full force on to the streets and a night curfew was imposed in some areas.

Bhindrawale is, of course, dead — killed with over a thousand of his followers in the army operation in the Golden Temple last June. But his ghost continues to haunt Punjab, and the prospects for a negotiated peace remain as remote as they were when the troops first moved into the troubled state eight months ago.

There are, in fact, signs that the mood in Punjab is hardening again, with fresh threats by leaders of the Akali Dal, the militant Sikh party, of renewed mass agitation to press demands for more political and religious autonomy for the Sikhs, coinciding with a resurgence of extremist violence in the state in recent weeks.

Last week, in Amritsar, Sikh political and religious leaders met at the Golden Temple and passed a series of tough resolutions against the Government. The Akali Dal's youth wing has already announced that it would launch mass agitation against the Government in the first week of March.

The Akali leaders are being backed by the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC), an organisation which controls all Sikh temples in the country and wields considerable influence in the community.

It is impossible to talk to Congress leaders who have not condemned the anti-Sikh riots, ordered a reign of terror to be let loose on Punjab, and reduced Sikhs to second-class citizens. From Singh Lalpura, the acting SGPC chief said in Amritsar last week.

Both organisations have also made it clear that there cannot be a political settlement between the Sikhs and the Government without the Anandpur Sahib resolution as the basis. The resolution, passed many years ago and demanding religious and political autonomy for the Sikhs and a federal status for Punjab, has been the focal point of the three-year crisis in the state, with Sikh militants adamant for its implementation and the Government equally determined not to accept it.

After the decision of Rajiv Gandhi last December and his formation of a panel to work out a political solution in Punjab, there had been speculation that a compromise between the Sikhs and the Government was at hand, but the new tough posture adopted by the Sikh political and religious leaders have dashed such hopes.

Officials in Amritsar link the deterioration in the political climate to the new surge of extremist activities in the state. "The moderate elements in the Sikh leadership are simply too scared of the extremists to assert themselves and adopt a more flexible stand on negotiations with the Government," said an official.

In Amritsar, Sikh youths have again started wearing saffron turbans, associated with Bhindrawale and his followers. Their reappearance is a sign of fading military authority.

Sihanouk calls on China to invade Vietnam again

Kampuchean resistance in disarray after losses

From Nicholas Cumming-Bruce in Khat Sarapi, Thai-Kampuchean border

A crucial stage has been reached in the Khmer resistance since Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea.

Vietnamese forces have now smashed all resistance bases and overrun "liberated areas" along the Thai-Kampuchean border. The only base left untouched so far is at Tatum, occupied by followers of the tripartite resistance coalition.

Fighting is now said to have moved deeper inside Kampuchea where the Vietnamese are reportedly searching out pockets of resistance, while the Khmer Rouge claim to be counter-attacking by harassing Vietnamese lines of communication.

The guns have been silent along the border for the past two to three days since the Vietnamese overran the Khmer Rouge resistance base of Phnom Malai, once thought impregnable, and swept up to the border with Thailand.

Prince Sihanouk, speaking in Bangkok at the weekend, called on China to "save" the resistance with a second invasion of Vietnam, declaring that China must "fight now". His remarks coincided with a Chinese Foreign Ministry statement that Peking would support the resistance coalition "in all ways" and would report on the situation along the Sino-Vietnamese border in the past week.

A Chinese statement on Friday, however, noted that Hanoi had already been caught in a "due lesson" by attacks along the border, and diplomats speculate that China had not prepared and did not intend to go through with a major invasion of northern Vietnam.

Asian and other governments backing the resistance coalition have played down the impact of Vietnam's offensive.

and suggested that it will merely force the resistance to adapt to wholly guerrilla and highly mobile tactics, without depending on permanent base areas, as they have in the past.

"The Vietnamese are almost winning," one Khmer soldier commented. "We have no tanks and artillery, the Vietnamese have many. In the rainy season it is easy to fight the Vietnamese, but now in the dry season, it is difficult because of their tanks."

Other Khmer soldiers spoke more optimistically. "We have many forces inside Kampuchea, so we don't think we've lost the war," one soldier remarked.

The Vietnamese successes, however, have almost certainly disrupted the logistics of the two main resistance factions to a degree that will not easily be repaired, and have also inflicted a psychological blow.

Hanoi's military assaults have most severely affected the bigger of the coalition's two non-Communist resistance groups, the Khmer People's National Liberation Front, formerly wedded to maintaining civilian-military camps.

"We have to reorganise ourselves as guerrillas, or we are finished," one KPRLF source commented. KPRLF fighters would in future be operating only in very small units, he said, and while the faction's leaders claim that their men are already counter-attacking against the Vietnamese, he added: "We are not telling our men to get after the Vietnamese, but to find insulation."

The key now, he argued, was to establish secure forward bases and resupply points for guerrillas moving deeper inside the country.

Morale among some elements was still good, he claimed, but it is clear that the Vietnamese offensive has taken a heavy toll of the confidence and hopes of some KPRLF forces.

In the town centre, men, women and children poured into the streets in tens of thousands to give the army a welcome that gave real meaning, as nowhere else in Lebanon, to the newly printed posters "My nation, my flag, my army".

There was dancing in the streets, rice thrown in buckets, roses and gladioli stuck in gun barrels and, for one unfortunate soldier, a family-sized bottle of cheap perfume thrown with admirable precision from an upstairs window. Balloons, candy floss, "I love Sidon" stickers and Lebanese flags were like falling rain. Even a brass band turned out in white shirts and blue caps to compete with café

radios going at full blast. Even the Palestinians in Sidon's two camps seemed comforted — as much by the genuinely happy faces of the soldiers as by the retreat of the Phalangist militiamen of Sabra and Chatila. "We'll probably see isolated incidents, but I don't foresee real trouble," said one young Palestinian. "One young Palestinian said as the army fanned out around the camps. Absent in all this celebration, in most untypical Lebanese fashion, was the firing of Kalashnikovs — the firing of which is a national hobby, even in celebration. But, with the exception of a single gunman sitting at the northern end of the camp, the Lebanese flag in the other, militia weapons were considerably absent."

If trouble is coming — whether the intercommunal massacres so trumpeted by Israel or the inter-Muslim power struggles that are of more concern to the Lebanese — there was no sign of it here at the weekend. . . . except, perhaps, in the scores of badges of the Shi'ite Muslim movement, Amal, a minority in Sabra and Sidon, and in the Shi'ite and Druze militiamen who still flaunt their presence along the army-controlled main road from Beirut.

After yesterday's court decision, he said: "It looks like I shall have to start again."

His lawyers said it was foolish to punish people who could help open an Israeli-Palestinian dialogue.

Sidon dances in explosion of jubilation as Israeli armour finally rolls south

From Julie Filant in Sidon

THE signal that the Israelis were about to leave their front line at the Awali bridge came from a Shin Bet intelligence agent, a short, stubby figure in the Shin Bet uniform of blue jeans and M-16. He turned towards the journalists gathered at a prudent distance on the bridge, grinned and waved. Behind him, the first Israeli tanks turned and headed south.

The Shin Bet man was a familiar face. In the final days before the Israeli pullout, he and other agents had been shooting close to civilians and journalists attempting to cross the bridge. At one point, four men, including two Lebanese soldiers, were made to lie face down in the dirt for six hours.

And so it was that the Israeli's departure on Saturday released a chaotic explosion of joy in Sidon, occupied for the past 32 months, according to local authorities, at a cost of \$500 million, 200,000 homeless and untold hardship and humiliation. The people of Sidon have still not forgotten how, when the Israelis first occupied the city, local dignitaries were made to collect special passes on their knees.

As the final tank from the Awali turned off the main road, down a side track, scores of young people ran out of Sidon towards the bridge, clambered on top of cars and vans and began clapping and shouting: "Ahlan wasahlan bi Saida — welcome to Sidon."

Threatened by nothing more than this youthful chorus, the last Israeli tank turned around and trudged ponderously back. Taking up position in the middle of the road, it aimed its gun into the heart of Sidon, at head-level. The children fell silent, drivers edged their cars back towards the bridge. Overhead, Israeli fighters dropped leaflets addressed to "our good southern neighbours" and urging "stability, peace and coexistence based on mutual respect and peace."

The mood swung, again just as suddenly with the arrival of the first Lebanese troops, who by entering Sidon, more than doubled the area under their control.

In the town centre, men, women and children poured into the streets in tens of thousands to give the army a welcome that gave real meaning, as nowhere else in Lebanon, to the newly printed posters "My nation, my flag, my army".

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LAST POST: Israeli soldiers, with dog mascot, eat round their deserted camp before pulling out. Men in an armoured personnel carrier keep watch

remember the fate of the Shah of Iran, who "was a thousand times greater and fell when a hungry people revolted."

These strains inside the Government, however, did nothing to dampen the popular enthusiasm aroused by the triumphant deployment of the Lebanese army in the 200 square miles evacuated by the Israelis.

Mr Gemayel himself is clearly at pains to unite the Lebanese against a common enemy in the South. In a speech yesterday at Sidon's Government House, he praised the "noble, heroic resistance" which he called the symbol of Lebanese unity and liberation.

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Reagan suspends aid in Sudan

From David Ottaway in Washington

The United States has suspended payment of nearly \$200 million in economic assistance to Sudan, its largest African recipient of aid, because of the steady deterioration in the economic and political situation there.

The decision, made late last year and not publicly disclosed, reflects growing despair among Western donors and international aid agencies about how to deal with President Jaafar Numeiri, who is bent on the Islamisation of his country, apparently without regard to the economic and political cost.

US officials said that the decision was made only after several months of "very high level" discussions. The Sudanese were informed of it in mid-December. A State Department source said there was no other choice.

The decision was not an isolated one. An economic rescue package put together in 1982 by the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and Western donors worth \$1.5 billion annually in aid and deferred debt payments earlier fell apart because Sudan was \$100 million in arrears to the IMF and \$264 million behind on its 1983 debt servicing.

President Numeiri, regarded as one of the United States' closest African friends, has become a dilemma for the Reagan Administration, which views his country as strategically important for its African and Middle East policies.

Today, however, he faces widespread opposition from a wide range of foes, a fast-spreading Libyan — and Ethiopian — backed insurgency in the South, the influx of half a million refugees from drought-stricken neighbours, falling health and a self-inflicted economic mass that is probably the worst in the nearly 16 years he has been in power.

Mr Numeiri has also set his mind on imposing Islamic law, in such a rigorous manner, including public amputations, that the State Department has repeatedly complained publicly about violations of human rights.

The problem remains, however, of what to do about the overall economic crisis.

The consensus here is that the Administration will continue to support the Numeiri regime "come hell or high water," as one source put it. — Washington Post.

SA cleric 'not to be tried'

Johannesburg: Newspapers reported yesterday that the Government will at the last minute withdraw charges against the leading Catholic cleric in southern Africa, who is due to go on trial today for allegedly defaming the police.

While leading Catholics from around the world have flown to South Africa to monitor the proceedings, Archbishop Denis Hurley, of Durban, said when he was charged last year that he welcomed the trial because "a lot of dirt will come out."

The Government charged Archbishop Hurley, an outspoken opponent of apartheid, with defaming the police when he issued a report alleging police and South African soldiers committed atrocities against villagers in Namibia. — AP.

Four long-term prisoners who accepted President Botha's offer of release in return for renouncing violence were identified at the weekend as former members of the outlawed Pan-Africanist Congress, an offshoot of the African National Congress.

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Reagan suspends aid in Sudan

From David Ottaway in Washington

The United States has suspended aid to the Sudan because of its economic and political situation. The decision, made late last week, comes after a long period of negotiations between the two countries. The Sudanese government has been accused of human rights abuses and of supporting terrorism. The US State Department has said that the suspension of aid is a necessary step to bring pressure to bear on the Sudanese government to improve its human rights record and to stop supporting terrorism. The suspension of aid will affect the Sudanese economy, as the US is one of the country's major aid donors. The Sudanese government has said that it will continue to work with the US to improve its human rights record and to stop supporting terrorism. The suspension of aid is a significant development in the relationship between the two countries.

SA cleric 'not to be tried'

A South African cleric who was accused of involvement in the assassination of Dr Martin Luther King has been found 'not guilty' by a court in Johannesburg. The cleric, who was one of the few South African whites to be charged with the crime, had been on trial for several months. The court found that there was not enough evidence to prove his guilt. The cleric has been released and is expected to return to his home in South Africa. The case has been a controversial one, as it has raised questions about the role of the church in South African society and about the treatment of white South Africans in the post-apartheid era.

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THE CREATIVE USE OF MONEY



THE CHANGING IMAGE II: In the second part of our series on how women shaped the decades since the war, Ann Shearer looks at the Fifties, the time of the incomparable Monroe, BB, the murderess Ruth Ellis and the first Page Three girl, Barbara Goalen

WHILE Ruth Ellis was waiting for her trial at the Old Bailey, it's said, it was not her two children she worried about. It was not even — for it was always her calmness that drew the comment — her predicament. It was the fact that her hair was going dark at the roots.

At first, the governor of Holloway could find nothing in the regulations to allow for the import of artificial hair. But three days before the trial, the rules were bent. Ruth Ellis went into the dock with her image intact: cool, poised and platinum blonde.

Much good it did her. She never denied that when she shot her lover that Easter of 1955 she intended to kill him. The foreign press were aghast that a crime so evidently born of passion turned rotten should end in an execution. And not only that: there were 50,000 signatures on the petition for her reprieve and she became a powerful icon in the struggle to end the barbarity of capital punishment. But she did die, they say, with great courage: the last woman to be hanged in England.

"She was," said one of the jurors many years later, "just a common little West End tart." But Ruth Ellis stood symbol for a whole lot more than the wages of sin in her own times. She was a woman who will now again to a different consciousness when Dance With A Stranger comes to the screen next month, with a reissue of Robert Harlow's biography from Weidenfeld to back it.

For what Ruth Ellis was about was the underside of the glamour and the champagne of club-life. What she was about, behind and beyond her own tale of wretched sexual encounters and booze and exploitations, was a determination to wrest from life something of power and independence and fun. She was everything that women weren't meant to be. And who will know how many mourned her just because, somewhere in themselves, they did?

But at about the time that Ruth Ellis was hanged, it was another blonde and a very different one after whose hairstyle the readers of Woman's Own could model their own. If Ruth Ellis lived the ugly side of low society, then Grace Kelly was her mirror image. High Society was where she moved — higher yet when the real life prince married the showgirl, the highest of all, maybe, in the eyes of those who after her death in a car crash in 1952 would have had her declared a saint.

She was not the only blonde about, back in those days when gentlemen preferred the soft and natural meant innocence and dizzy meant fun and platinum looked back to Jean Harlow, the original blonde bombshell of the thirties, for a touch of the other

and more. It was in 1950 that Brigitte Bardot was plucked from the cover of Elle magazine to become the most famous set of initials, as the decade wore on, in the world. If America had Jayne Mansfield, then Britain had Diana Dors, no less platinum. And who didn't have the incomparable Marilyn Monroe, blonde and wide-eyed and open-mouthed and dizzy and sexy and funny too, though not funny at all in the truth of her life and that terrible vulnerability and need for approval of what she was and even wasn't.

"I don't mind being burdened by being glamorous and sexual," she once said. "But what goes with it can be a burden. People expect an awful lot for very little. A sex symbol becomes a thing. I just hate to be a thing." Within days of her suicide in 1962, eight young and beautiful women in New York killed themselves in an identical way to her. Maybe they didn't want to become things either.

But the sex goddesses were never what the 1950s were really about. Those were the days when Page Three was in the Daily Express and sex was wrapped in fashion and gossip and all things nice and just a bit spicy and the first Page Three girl of all was Barbara Goalen, the "got-it" girl to launch a decade and the top model of her time: poised, aloof and elegant to the tips of her long gloves. They were the days when Princess Margaret was hailed as "cool, poised" — but with a hint of mischief — the days when the young British film stars had that "snoozy" well-groomed look to which all women aspire, and they got it as you could, too, with one of the new cold home perms.

'Doris Day made no fewer than 17 movies and still had time to date Ronald Reagan'

And it was the English quality of Grace Kelly that Woman's Own so admired: a flair for the concealment of mere sex — but it's there and unerring good taste as well. Alfred Hitchcock, for whom she was making those elegant thrillers, put it more bluntly: "The drawing-room type, the real lady who becomes a whore in the bedroom. She was perfect for that, perfect."

The image was everywhere. Hitchcock found it in one cool blonde after another and Hollywood turned up other variations on the theme. Between 1949 and 1955, Doris Day made no fewer than 17 movies and still had time to date Ronald Reagan. She was, as she said of herself, "a new kind of sex symbol: the woman who wanted to go to bed with, but not until they



RUTH ELLIS... HER EXECUTION HAS SET THE WHOLE WORLD TALKING.

YESTERDAY WAS NOT A HAPPY DAY FOR ELLIS. SHE WAS HANGED FOR THE MURDER OF HER HUSBAND.

Illustration by Peter Clarke

All shades of blonde

married her — sexy but pure." She nearly blew the image when in 1955 she was screened scant of clothing and smoking and drinking too. But the deluge of hate mail — and she an avowed Christian Scientist! — convinced her to see out the decade turning the battle of the sexes into boardroom comedy. The hype, meanwhile, was on for Kim Novak, and her creator knew very precisely the image that the times demanded: "something a little more subtle, a little more old-fashioned than Monroe or Mansfield... half bitch, half baby — a sexy sweetness, a virtuous voluptuousness."

What to do, growing up with the ambiguities of these images, the mixture of messages in all those shades of blonde, but to cry How Far Should A Girl Go? — and try to get it right? The answer of the elders was womanly calm and itself petting is a sign of immaturity, not maturity; boys are grateful really if girls refuse them as in turn they really want to do; and above all, Don't Lead Them On. Gentlemen may have preferred blondes. But in middle England they wanted to marry a virgin.

At the start of the decade, where all this was leading was back to some state called "normal" — which had its ironies, perhaps, when "normal" had been for so many before the upheavals of war a state of extreme deprivation. And so, for many, it still was. If Vogue could cry, when rationing finally came off soap, as off so much else,

"Now you can have a bar in every bathroom!" a third of British households knew that they had no fixed bath at all.

But what a plethora of advertisements there were for foodstuffs in the magazines in those early years of the decade, jostling for space with the articles on what to make of them and the other advertisements for a new world of coming plenty! Cooking and cleaning, washing and cooking: the image of woman as nurturer, pivot of that normality in the security of its base — changing her daughter's tears to smiles by using the powder that washed whitest, delighting her husband with his choice of peas, letting the world know he was pampered by the way she cared for his clothes.

Women still worked outside the home — only 100,000 or so fewer in 1951 than the 7½ million pressed into action during the most desperate days of the war. But it was not their image that seized the British film industry. Anna Neagle as Odette at the decade's start, Virginia McKenna in Carve Her Name With Pride towards its end, or in A Town Like Alice, were paying tribute to a time that was far away and gone. Anne was for Genevieve on her film-fun-filled run from London to Brighton in the veteran car race.

There were adjustments to make between the worlds. "Marriage can be lonely," Mary Rose found in her fictional newly-wed life. She'd been a Wren, she'd had a job;

she knew that what she needed most was to go back to work. But she, too, was enchanted by the gift of a puppy and "A nice start!" was what he winked at her delight. She would, she realised, be chained to the house by this dog. "But she didn't care. She would be chained to her home, but the chains were made of love; they would bind but never hurt. And her mother-in-law who had thought up the puppy in the first place could not have been more pleased.

There was more than a puppy to worry about. At the very start of the decade, the Home Secretary himself had advised a Women's Institute conference on juvenile delinquency that mothers of children of school age and below should think very carefully before going out to work. And so, perhaps they did, for during the first part of the decade they stayed home, on average, until their children were 7½ and by its end only 8 per cent were working at all.

Meantime, those children's older sisters, "teenagers" already, were preparing for the lives their mothers led: the average age of women at their first marriage, well over 25 in 1931, fell from 24½ to just over 23 during the decade. The very clothes on offer announced young women's continuity with their mothers' lives. Well-designed teenage clothes form the basis of your grown-up wardrobe. Even the fashions blurred the distinctions of maturity, as the tiny waists and petticoats gave way in 1955 to Dior's A-line and then box-jacket —

cover for thickened maternal waist, pregnancy, and puppy fat alike.

And the battle, for mother and daughter both, was still for grooming, still against sloppiness. The price of fat lace was, by mid-decade, on the screen in Woman In A Dressing Gown. It was, more shockingly still, on stage in Look Back In Anger. A woman who let herself go would lose her husband, a woman who stopped about in her petticoat incapable of doing the ironing off stage would end up playing bears and squirrels with someone as ghastly as Jimmy Porter.

'There was James Dean and rebellion and Elvis and sex: a culture of youth'

That, perhaps, is hindsight speaking. But it is a different, differently tuned that hears today in the most famous theatrical speech of the fifties, not a cry of despair against a world gone sour, but of man domesticating against woman, the domesticator? "Why, oh why do we let these women bleed us to death? Have you ever had a letter and on it is franked 'Please give your blood generously?' Well, the Postmaster General does that, on behalf of all the

women in the world. I suppose people of our generation aren't able to die for good causes any longer. There aren't any good causes left. No, there's nothing left for it, my boy, but to let yourself be butchered by the women."

By then, the poised and elegant woman was on her way out of the drawing room, in life as in art. The cracks in her veneer got wider as the decade wore on. Hollywood brought a different image of woman to its state of Tennessee Williams's films: even motherhood took a knock in 1953 with Katharine Hepburn's portrayal of mother as destroyer in Suddenly, Last Summer. There was James Dean and rebellion and Elvis and sex: a culture of youth a world away from mother's life but getting nearer all the time with live and rock and pop radio charts that sold a million.

By 1959, the House of Lords was deploring youth's freedom from conventional restraint, lack of religion and a VD rate higher than at any time since 1947. The rise steepest by far in 18 and 19 year olds. And it wasn't just youth that was affected by the times. This was the year, announced page three of the Daily Express, when fashion was about breaking all the rules: "the quietly elegant lady is dead."

As the decade turned, another woman was on the rise, not for her life but for her reputation. And maybe it was the fifties themselves that stood beside her in the dock.

Lady Connie Chatterley had many advantages of background and birth, growing up as she did in circles both artistic and intellectual. She was the sort who could have adorned any gossip column of her day, especially perhaps when she so quaintly ran off with a servant, were it not for her insistence on publishing her memoirs, ghost-written into the third person by a novelist of some distinction. And so far were these memoirs from being cool, poised, elegant and well-groomed that her detractors found in them a tendency to deprave and corrupt anyone who might read them.

They wasted no time in pointing out that what Connie was, stripped of her literary pretensions, was an adulteress, who confessed to having started inlegantly with a pre-marital affair and gone on to worse in recent years. What her memoirs did, they claimed, was to "put promiscuous intercourse on a pedestal." Prosecuting counsel could count no fewer than 13 descriptions of "hard did it" in the foreplay — and worse, in the pouring rain, with no clothes on at all, in another part of the forest, and in a Bloomsbury attic as well.

Worse yet, she wanted the world to know that she enjoyed it "the emphasis, always on the sensuality, the sensuality and the sensuality of the episode." And the language! Could one really approve of wives, servants, or daughters "because girls can read as well as boys, having access to such a book? There must be instilled in all of us, and at the earliest possible age, standards of respect, respect for the conventions of society, for the kind of conduct of which society approves, standards of restraint." So spoke the voice of the fifties.

But Connie's friends rallied round her, a most distinguished gathering: people of letters (including women who had evidently learned to live as girls, as women, as adults, as mothers, and what they said was that Connie, far from being promiscuous, had formed a very deep and genuine attachment to the man, and that they intended to marry and so legitimise her unborn child. Her memoirs were, they said, in their language and content and even occasional literary infelicity, a very serious statement about a culture grown sterile in its pretences and sterile in its practices; they were an expression of hope for a different sort of future, one founded on far greater honesty and openness and realising loving between men and women.

Connie Chatterley won her name and 200,000 copies of her memoirs were put on sale to any wives, servants and even girls who could read and lay their hands on 3s 6d. And in her vindication is perhaps a condemnation of what the fifties had brought us to as well.

But who listened? The 1950s had seen the start of a spell that was to bring, and to women especially, much harm as well as comfort. The first modern tranquilliser was put on sale in the United States in 1951. As the decade turned, the explosion in this market was on its way. And what was the tranquilliser's promise but calm, poised and confident serenity — of a sort?

Vanity Fair

CAPITULATED Capitalist Majority are absolutely browned off with having to listen to the futile ravings of Socialist Minority in Council. Minority seems unable to grasp the fact that their function is to provide a token mini-debate at Meetings to give the effect of democracy, and that is all.

There used to be an empty day set two days after Full Council, so that unfinished business could be adjourned, but that just meant yet another wasted evening spent listening to the wailings of Minority while Majority could have been at home darning their children or flinging the odd dinner party, like the rest of this world. The life of a Councillor, Minority or Majority, is a hard one.

So Majority refused to use the existing evening, and decided to bring Minority to its knees by applying a new rule. Meetings should stop at 10.30 pm, when Majority would have the option of extending for another half-hour or voting on the remaining business without debate.

And as Castleton business is always debated chronologically, in order of Committees, you always get the same ones remaining at the end, Education, Finance Staffing, which aren't worth bothering about anyway.

Flushed by success, Major-

ity thought up another scheme. Councillors wishing to raise an issue used to be able to write to Town Clerk and ask him to send it to Committee to be discussed. Majority just told Town Clerk not to, the majority in the Majority, TC did as he was told. If Minority wanted to discuss anything, it could go into Any Other Business, at the end of everything in Private Session, away from the prying Press and Public.

Of course, Councillors can move things from private to public, but in Castleton, Majority decides yes or no, so they just always say No, and Minority's stumped again. And what's more, subject matter of Any Other Business, shouldn't be distributed before the meeting, unless Majority copy and distribute it themselves, that way, Majority can ask for it to be deferred, so that they can have a report on it, and that takes another couple of months, by which time Minority will hopefully have cooled off.

The last hope is for Minority to give six days' notice to put a motion on the Agenda and Mayor can give them permission, only he won't because Majority's side say no, so Minority's request will be referred to the appropriate committee in two or three weeks, and a couple of weeks after that it might go on the Council Agenda, where it will be quite safe because there won't be the time to discuss it.

The best thing for Minority is just to choose the topic they're interested in, stay outside Council in the lobby or on the Town Hall steps, and chat about things amongst themselves. It's their only hope, if they absent themselves altogether, considering man's searing inner need for an enemy of some sort. Majority might even come to blows all on their own. It's just another dream.

Michele Hanson



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J.P. and S.O.

Alex Hamilton reviews the new paperbacks

Rosie outlook

A Nice Girl Like Me by Rosie Borcott (1984, Pan £1.95). An autobiography written (at 32) with the pacy swing of intelligent literature. The emotions are powerful enough, the characters clearly sketched and the action fast and bizarre enough for top-selling fiction, but there's the voyeur addition of knowing it's true and even, for London trendies, the recognition factor as old acquaintances stick their ear in.

Perhaps she packed so much into the first ten years of her adult life that the fastenings had to give one day; perhaps her unhappy introduction to other little Cheltenham Ladies seeded an implacable demon — as therapeutic analysis the book fails to find a satisfactory answer to that — but something unwished drove this bright, attractive girl, cherished and even spoiled by her parents, to become not merely the most precocious editor in town (co-founding Spare Rib at 20) but a literal addict of every available hit.

Her personal search took her along the by now worn hippy trails of London, San Francisco, India, Nepal and Boulder, a lay up in a Thai jail, and a glamorous editing job in Kuwait, that distant, increasingly squalid, angsty existence — till she arrived, unemployed and desperate, in an expensive Chelsea clinic for alcoholics and drug addicts.

After a first and third person chapter, she reviews her life like a novel, while interweaving the pattern of the alcoholic web that had trapped her and her fellow patients. The book has various interests (perhaps more immediate to women): the underground press, the later seamy stages of the hippy movement, the rise of feminism and its inner conflicts, the pressures peculiar to the female sex, the complex hold of addiction, the tyranny of sex as a social counter, tangled family emotions — plus the suspense of a good "plot" and a highly charged heroine.

A History of Classical Scholarship by U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf is translated by Alan Harris and edited by Professor Hugh Lloyd-Jones, who is also the author of Blood for the Ghosts, which deals with Classics in the 19th and 20th centuries (Duckworth £6.95 and £7.95). Both are sober and quite readable surveys on the one hand of specialists and on the other, great men who have shaped the classics.

But the roll call for the latter makes an odd array. Goethe for example clearly sought the resurrection of the Greek spirit, while Marx did anything but draw lessons from ancient history, and figures merely because he once studied Latin and Greek.

So what is the Professor saying? Explicitly: "The threat to the independent schools of all kinds means that each year fewer people start to learn Latin and Greek at the age at which memory is best; indeed the activity of so-called educational experts means that during these years fewer and fewer people are learning anything at all." (From A History).

To touch off every intellectual gun in a salvo discharged in defence of the classics is to risk some of them exploding on board. Other recent Duckworth editions include: Alexander of Aphrodisias on Fate by R. W. Sharples (£3.95) — for specialists; students of the period (c.200AD) and Alexander's attributed writings. The Greek text is printed clearly, but, rather dauntingly, without photographs, beside English translation and critical apparatus.

Suetonius by Andrew Wallace-Hadrill (£3.95); Josephus by H. St. John (1984, £3.95); and Three Archaisms: Archolochus, Alcetas, Sappho by Anne Pippin Burnett (£3.95). The former are investigations on writers and their relation to their context — e.g. whether Suetonius was historian or clerk; the relation of Josephus to the war he recorded (a Jew on the Roman subjection of Judea); as assertions of otherwise discrete or conflicting critiques they should interest both specialists and general readers.

The third is much more like a literary criticism. Textual transmission is not within its scope, which is the evaluation of the poetry. This involves setting the background for each, but without a great baggage of scholarship. The result is that these writers emerge in a far more accessible form than usual — which is especially striking where Sappho is involved.

Klingsor's Last Summer by Herman Hesse (tr. by Richard and Clara Winston 1971, Treg Granada £2.50). Three novels by the Nobel-winning author of Siddhartha and Steppenwolf, updated, but presumably written in the Forties. They are all three powerful, fables, exploring themes of compulsion and destiny.



Peter Kelly and the Almeida Company in The Possessed: Picture by Douglas Jeffrey

The devil in Dostoevsky

Michael Billington reviews Lyubimov's The Possessed in Paris

"I WANT to stress the fact that Dostoevsky was more of a playwright than a novelist. What his novels represent is a succession of scenes and dialogues with all the tricks of the theatre."

So said Vladimir Nabokov in a lecture on the Russian writer. He added that, considered as plays, his works are too long, diffuse and badly balanced — and that is the central problem faced by Yuri Lyubimov in his stage version of The Possessed which opened at the Odéon in Paris on Saturday night.

It was in many ways an exciting event. Not only was it Lyubimov's first original theatre production in the West (his famous Crime and Punishment at the Lyric Hammersmith was a re-working of a Moscow original). It was also the first time a British company, from the Almeida in London, had taken their place in the Theatre of Europe season.

(though Ian McKellen had previously done a one-man show). It proved to be a complex production, evoking in me an equally complex response: admiration for the technical brilliance of the staging, for the cornucopia of images, for the high quality of ensemble acting coupled with a certain confusion at this headlong attempt to compress the whole of Dostoevsky's novel into three-and-a-half hours. You have to know the book well to get maximum value from the show.

What Lyubimov has done is to treat The Possessed as a wild prophetic fable: he describes it more precisely as "a dishevelled Faradole, a tragic fable, a whirlwind." Dostoevsky's novel can be seen as a reactionary, ill-formed attack on 19th century Russian revolutionaries who plot destruction in the town of Skovroshinski, and murder one of their number, Shatov.

Lyubimov, responsible both for the production and adaptation which Richard Crane has translated, treats it as a mad vision of the horrors yet to come: thus the revolutionary Peter Vekhovskiy is played by Michael Feast as an unhinged Trotskyist figure, and the theoretical Shigalov, who dreams of turning nine-tenths of humanity into a slave-like herd, becomes a brutal Stalinist apparition.

But Lyubimov dwells less on individuals than on collective insanity. The key image of the book is that of the biblical swine who were entered by human devils and plunged destructively into a lake; here we are presented with a whole town that has gone mad.

The first image we see is of a tight-bunched community clawing and picking at the white tissues that cover

their faces: they then proceed to twist them up and hurl them at the audience. They dance like tipsy Bacchantes; they are identified by white strips of paper stuck across different parts of their anatomy; and they are for ever getting ferociously enmeshed in the thick, black, velvety strands that make up Stefanos Lazaridis's set. Sometimes they carry placards round their neck like wandering lunatics. At other times they appear under declamatory banners: Prince Hal, for instance, for the decadent aristocrat Nikolai Stavrogin and the town governor is evoked as Nikolai Stavrogin.

It is a dazzlingly clever evocation of a crazed, feverish world, and Lyubimov makes inventive use of the simplest props: thus the dual between Stavrogin and the town governor is evoked by the two men standing at opposite ends of a taut black banner stretched to breaking point and suddenly released. Even a meeting of the revolutionaries — under a red placard, in case we had missed the point, inscribed with Our Group — becomes the occasion for satire on bureaucratic nit-picking among masked terrorists planning murder.

But Lyubimov's determination to include every episode of the book leads, particularly in the first half, to a lightning, semi-comprehensible compression of character and events. The elder Verkhovskiy (well played by Clive Merrison as a crumpled provincial liberal in a creased alpaca jacket) is, for instance, rushed towards marriage with a timid junior; only by reading the book do you understand his guilt and shame at the match and his need to make up, through her dowry, for his son's squandered patrimony. By treating the whole town as a collection of demoted freaks, Lyubimov also runs out matters like

the smug detestation of the mad Stavrogin, who pulls people by the nose and biffs their ears. Lyubimov has caught Dostoevsky's dark obsessions and frantic comedy (more so than Wajda in his 1972 World Theatre Season version). But time, the essence of any novel, often telescopes events into impressionist fragments; and it is a great relief to get to a sustained confrontation of character like that between the religious zealot Shatov (a wide-eyed James Aubrey) and the cynically depraved Stavrogin (excellently played by Nigel Terry as a cold, dandified diabolist). For a moment we have the clash of character and ideas rather than the dance of so many possessed puppets.

Lyubimov has come up with an extraordinary piece of theatre but one that reproduces the book's faults as well as its virtues — above all, Dostoevsky's reduction of real-life revolutionaries to a set of posturing maniacs. Crime and Punishment more a greater evening, partly because it is a greater book. But although the production is stronger on mood and atmosphere than narrative clarity, it is bracingly well acted by a cast of 18 (including Harriet Walter as a halfwit cripple, Gillian Borge as a power-struck provincial, Lesley Udwin as Stavrogin's tormented lover). It also, with the help of Alfred Schnittke's disjointed string-music, genuinely conjures up a society possessed by devils.

After a short European tour, it opens at the Almeida in late March, and I shall certainly want to see it again if only because one viewing left me bombarded with sensations but not always able to see the wood for the occupying demons.

Guardian critics review the new P. D. James and profile of David Lean on television

A case for the dashing sleuth

AMONG television detectives Adam Dalgliesh looks like a bloodhound, that greyhound, it's something to do with the shape, the slightly diddled mouth, and that tight-but-toned waistcoat in brindled tweed.

He also turns up with remarkable speed in Cover Her Face, the third of Angela's adaptations of crime stories by P. D. James. The first episode was hardly under way before an unmarried mother, dumping in on her old workplace to exhibit the baby, finds Stavros, her former friend and drug dealer, murdered in the basement.

In no time at all Dalgliesh is on the scene, with none of that leisurely atmospheric background painting we had in the first two James serials, which makes me think Roy Marsden's fee for playing the Chief Superintendent must have gone up the lift shaft, making him a man not to be kept waiting in the wings.

The leisurely background comes later down in Suffolk where the girl, a key witness, is taken in as cheap help by the squiring family, much against Nanny's will. "I don't wish to contradict, Ma'am, but that will be over my dead body." I do hope not; there aren't many nannies like her left in the world.

I stirred uneasily here. Is the brisk Miss James, who riveted us with her detailed pictures of enclosed, specialist worlds, now going to drop us in the clasp of a conventional country-house mystery? Probably not. Anyway, it's still quality Crime Club stuff, and Marsden as Dalgliesh is as acerbic as ever, full of polite insolence, the perfect incarnation of the cultured woman's copper.

He certainly makes the Irish police in The Prioress (C4) look like two-timing trigger-happy bunglers. But most of Peter Ransley's script has been a model of tight writing. In the final episode he might have gone for the big set-piece SAS-style



Roy Marsden and Kim Thomson in Cover Her Face

operation. Instead, the kidnapers were tricked and killed with a reckless opportunism entirely in key with these policemen's earlier methods. A fine, economic piece of direction by Peter Smith, whose only serious fault has been to allow silly melodramatic music to mar his effects.

But it was Harriet Walter's superb performance as the kidnapped wife that mattered most. She made this unlikely, enigmatic, wilful woman into a fully realised person. Enigmatic to the end as she scatters questions into the family's future: but enormously alive.

After dramas of that quality, Raymond Hitchcock's The Unknown Soldier (BBC 2) looked conventional and staged, set mostly in a hospital ward full of wounded during the closing stages of the war. Ann Thornton had the right meek, peaky look as a young war widow, sacrificing her leave and finally her life to care for a nameless, speechless, paralysed body that we knew long before her was really a German, not a British soldier.

Between times she fended off the attentions of the ward's Welsh windbag (Nicholas Clay), who had lost a leg but not his urge to chase skirts. There was a little more to it than that but at this point, 40 years after, not enough.

Ten years after the Pathé Lao won their civil war, the Everyman team managed to get permission for the first time for a Western crew to film widely in Laos. In Hearts and Minds (BBC 2) they brought back an intriguing report of how the country's traditional Buddhist culture manages to co-exist with the Marxist government, though there is a steady stream of refugees into Thailand.

Having failed to oust Buddhism, the government has made the Buddha himself an angry Marxist, prophet of a classless society.

Hugh Hebert

Extended homage to a veteran film-maker

AT WELL over two hours long — a running time to rival that of its subject's recent blockbuster movies — David Lean's A Life in Film (LWT) must be the most extended British television programme yet to be devoted to a film director.

But (and perhaps there is an ironic parallel to be drawn with some of Lean's later work) its very scope tended to be its undoing. Trying to be all things at once — biography, critical appraisal, cine-portrait — it ended up not getting very far in any one direction.

Interviewed by Melvyn Bragg, the 78-year-old director emerged as rather domineering and guarded. Naturally enough, he was disinclined to analyse his work: "I don't know why these stories appeal to me," he blithely asserted.

But it still seemed a pity that he was not prompted

into saying something about the nature of the collaboration with other screenwriters that has led to the immensely detailed shooting scripts he prepares, or indeed about the processes involved in setting up his projects in the first place.

Criticism can hardly be expected to function in a face-to-face context. When Bragg ventured to suggest that Ryan's Daughter might have been a bit sort of well-pumped up, the great man tartly reminded him that it had played for more than a year at the Empire, Leicester Square.

The quotations from the films themselves illustrated the director's eclecticism of style and theme only in the most random fashion. Often, too, the excerpts (though they did include the wonderfully orchestrated opening of Oliver Twist) proved to be the same old clips we seem to have been seeing on the telly for years — Laughton

falling into the coal hole in Hobson's Choice, Hepburn falling into the canal in Summer Madness.

At the anecdotal level, there were some entertaining asides, among them a waspish account by Alec Guinness of the differences between Lean and himself over the conception of the central character in Bridge on the River Kwai. But where the programme worked best was in its coverage of the preparation and shooting of a single sequence from Lean's current film, A Passage to India.

As an impressionistic account of the sheer complexity and burden of getting one ostensibly simple scene on celluloid, it was both illuminating and sobering. If the programme did not reveal much about Lean as an artist, it amply bore out his description of film-making as "bloody difficult."

Tim Pulleine

EXETER

Allen Saddler

The Room Of Lights

JESSICA In The Room Of Lights is a piece of atmospheric theatre. It conjures up the 1930s by relating to the film and music of the period. The pace is mostly slow motion with occasional bursts of frantic activity. There is a discernible plot; but the action consists of the actors behaving strangely with inanimate objects and archly with each other. This type of theatre, brought to England by foreign groups and pioneered by Triple Action, seems to have captured the imagination of many fledgling companies. The sound and visual style of Impact Theatre is stamped all over Room Of Lights, but it is a type of performance that is tricky and difficult to sustain. It needs a run on inspired invention to hold an audience through the labyrinth of obscure hints and suggestions which build up the atmosphere. The Forced Entertainment Theatre, setting out on tour from Exeter, is treating a sticky pale.

In Room Of Lights they do succeed in illustrating the story of two young girls sharing the delights of cinema going during a hot London summer. One gets a job as an usherette, acquires a boyfriend, and the two girls drift apart. The idea that romantic film scenarios, regularly imbibed, spill over into real life to the extent that fantasy becomes as real as life, is not new.

Room Of Lights is more of a grope in the direction of atmospheric theatre than a tentative performance. It could do with cutting and tightening up, but at least the technique is sound.

ST JOHN'S

Hugo Cole

Collegium Musicum

JOHN HARVEY'S The Path Of Devotion, written for Laszlo Heltay's Collegium Musicum (amateur chorus and professional orchestra) well demonstrated how all sorts of imaginative new sounds can be drawn from a normal ensemble using techniques that are not at all far out of the ordinary.

Among the methods used are unique themes in which solo voices are left behind at various points to cling to thrumming notes so that a harmonic cloud lingers; and long stretches of spoken chorus, shared out among 12

speakers, sometimes reinforcing each other and sometimes passing the text around word by word or syllable by syllable.

More predictably, there are harmonic clouds produced by notecasters and textures arising out of melodic parts running freely against each other. Simplest and most mysterious of all were the dry rustling sounds as the chorus whistled rapidly through large tracts of text.

In Harvey's case, the technical ingenuities are there to serve a purpose. If hardly a straightforward one — the texts of Eastern mystics deal in symbols and mysteries which the outsider cannot easily penetrate. The strange, often sensuously beautiful sounds come in a sequence with strong contrasts of complexity and simplicity, rich and spare textures, with recurring theme, a sort of ritornello, and an impressive climax towards the end.

It was chiefly about the role of instruments, particularly in spoken chorus passages where their involved parts seemed to distract attention without adding very much to atmosphere or sense. But this was a premiere in which the performers and listeners were still feeling their way towards the mood and meaning of the work.

EXETER

John Dalton

A Singular Vision

NAOMI FABIAN has broken the ice as Exhibitions Officer at the Royal Albert Memorial Museum with a fine show of 36 contemporary painters on the theme of the single figure. In the early 1500s, once upon a time artists used to draw; now they no longer do so. Some look like one-go bravura efforts; some use photographs and memory. Obviously Freud can draw, so too can Hockney. Sir William Coldstream, Carol Weight, Sir Lawrence Gowing, Patrick George, Euan Uglow and Patrick Symington with statements from the painters the catalogue is helpful but it would be nice to know which of these actually did a drawing. First. And how many of the others did too.

Cranach started all this: he probably invented the first full-length figure portrait as a work of art in its own right. In the early 1500s he did many of Luther, but also highly erotic female nudes with a hard glossy finish and called them Lucretia or Venus. Sir William Coldstream likes women and enjoys painting them because "you get to know the person and their personality" over a series of sittings, or in this case, standings.

The influence of Sir William can be seen in man Norris's Seated Boy in costume. Little more than an unfinished sketch, it is also a brisk search of a figure seen close, indicating life, with the space round the boy defined by fingers splayed over his thighs.

My favourites are Maggi Hambling's three studies of her mother during a stroke, Sir William's Standing Nude, and Hockney's fine line drawing, The Singular Vision: Paintings of the Figure by contemporary British artists at the RAM Museum, Exeter until Saturday.

COVENT GARDEN

Mary Clarke

The Sleeping Beauty

FRIDAY evening's performance of The Sleeping Beauty brought together, a conductor who drew from the orchestra all the richness and grace of Tchaikovsky's score and a young ballerina whose dancing seems to flow almost naturally from the music.

The Russian-born Mark Ermler coaxed from the orchestra of the Royal Opera House playing of such sweetness and such grandeur that the familiar melodies seemed newborn. The Beauty has not sounded like this at Covent Garden for many a day, and, in the evening, the exquisite playing of the Panorama music made me wish the company wouldn't bother to stage the journey to the castle but let us close our eyes and listen to the music.

But eyes were wide open for every nuance of Ravenna Tucker's performance as the princess Aurora. She needs guidance and help with the terribly taxing Rose Adagio simply to give her confidence; she can do it all but cannot yet completely relax.

However, once into the first act Aurora solo and even more in her last entry in that scene, before the finger pricking, she was totally at ease, phrasing most beautifully, stating the choreography with a radiant joy in dance. She has the most lovely arms and uses her hands as grace notes (as Markova did).

That her vision scene would be mellifluous lovely was no surprise but the authority and assurance of the great pas de deux in the last act has now become thrilling. This owed much to the fine partnering of Jay Folroy, who finds in Prince Florimund one of his very best roles. Tall and handsome, he wears the costumes with elegance.

There was not much to enjoy at soloist level except for the gracious "openness" of Deirdre Erden's classical style. She's ready, surely, for the big classics, for Swan Lake or for the Beauty itself.

Michele Hanson

Superpowers with trouble on the table

The walrus and the carpenter rarely hold bilateral talks about the oysters and when they do there is some shaking in the shells. Tomorrow's meeting in Vienna to survey the Middle East is surprising because it indicates a somewhat more serious approach to their joint responsibilities by the superpowers than the brief accord at Geneva would have foreshadowed and because the scope of the survey is huge. It covers an area of potential competition from the shores of the Mediterranean to the frontiers of Pakistan. Between those confines stand Lebanon, Israel and the Palestinians, the Gulf War and the Kurdish revolt, the uncertainties of a post-Khomeini Iran, and the continued thwarting of Soviet intentions by Afghan guerrillas. That none of these possible sources of rivalry has brought the United States and the Soviet Union into serious conflict may illustrate the thesis that the scale of armaments is the cause of tension rather than the result of it, and that the superpowers, give or take an ideological flourish, have a mutual interest in avoiding excitement.

In the Gulf neither the US nor the USSR has had an interest in the victory of either side, for it would have changed the strategic balance there in an unpredictable way. Both have latterly supported Iraq, mainly on the ground that Iraq is more vulnerable, but the pattern of alliances does not provide any guide to the political divisions of the region. The Soviet Union is also Syria's main supplier of weapons, and Syria supports the Ayatollah against Iraq. At present, however, the main preoccupation of President Assad of Syria is to fight off the challenge to his growing authority which comes from the alliance of Jordan, Egypt, and the Arafat wing of the PLO, and one preoccupation must therefore be to prevent Iraq, which would be a natural member, from joining it. The Russians, further to complicate matters, retain a soft spot for Mr Arafat. Mr Murphy and Mr Polyakov may feel that their charts of that particular labyrinth are not detailed enough. Both will have an eye, however, to their chances when the Ayatollah goes.

Recent attempts to end (or, more likely, institutionalise) the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan have failed, but the Russians are now apparently willing to broach the future of the country directly with the Americans who are supplying the guerrillas. There is no shortage of formulas, beginning with Lord Carrington's not long after the invasion, by which Afghanistan would be designated as a reasonable Soviet interest. The poor man's Yalta? Not exactly. Afghanistan is not one of nature's liberal democracies. The Muslims of that country will always make the late Cardinal Mindszenty seem positively pliable and the Soviet Union would merely add to its ethnic problems by absorbing them.

The Afghan adventure has been a colossal miscalculation by the Russians, one of the very few in their generally cautious conduct of foreign affairs. They once had a client regime (to which the West then had no objection) which made some nationalistic sense of the country. Doubtless the Politburo pines for those days. But if they are to return, with the blessing of the Americans who understand the backyard preoccupations of a superpower, then certain consequences follow. The Soviet Union will no longer be the villain of South-West Asia and can repair its relations with other Muslim countries. Mr Murphy will want to look at the implications of that. But one for whom the implications are more immediate is General Zia of Pakistan. What happens when an American strategic highway becomes the road to nowhere and all of a sudden new considerations, say human rights, arise? The occupation of Afghanistan has long been a rock of international life on which policies have been based and alliances graven. Good for the Afghans, of course, but damned inconvenient when it is removed.

Let Warnock have a hearing

Large parliamentary majorities can certainly change laws. But this doesn't mean that they speak for public opinion. This, of course, is one of the central, unresolved issues in current British politics. And it has been highlighted afresh by Friday's triumph for Mr Enoch Powell's Unborn Children (Protection) Bill. A 172 vote majority is an all but unstoppable mandate. No doubt a parliamentary procedural assault course awaits the bill in committee, but Mr Powell is up and running for the line and he will take some stopping.

At least let's give credit where it is due. Mr Powell and his backers have taken all the early rounds. But the fact remains that they are moving too fast. The one thing that is clear about public opinion on infertility is that it is not clear. The recent surrogacy controversy offers a sharp testimony to that. Such polls as have been taken on human embryo research suggest that public apprehension about medical experiments coexists with a desire for effective action to eliminate congenital handicaps and infertility. Honest and sincere people approaching these debates find themselves troubled and torn by the conflicting issues. And it was precisely for that reason that Warnock was asked to take a comprehensive look at the whole interface between medical science and human fertility.

The Warnock report has been with us only since July. In that time, there has been a period of initial general response, a single parliamentary run round the course and Baby Cotton. It does not add up to the necessary gestation before decisive legislative action. To the fundamentalists on all sides this does not seem to matter. For them, Warnock is a weasel compromise and a moral dereliction. For many church people (mainly, but not exclusively, Catholics), for the experiment at all costs Frankenstein, and for some feminists, Warnock is a sell-out from the start. The churches, being the best organised of these lobbies, have got their retaliation in first in the shape of Mr Powell's bill. This selects one part of the report, albeit an important part, and lays down rules which will effectively kill off embryo research of all kinds.

This is undesirable for several reasons. For one thing, it pre-empted the full discussion of Warnock which we, along with the Health Minister, Mr Kenneth Clarke, have urged before any bill comes to parliament. For another, the very strictness of the bill prescribes any effective role for research on the fertilised embryo. And it is this moral absolutism which is the deeper charge against both the bill and its precipitate introduction. The Warnock report is a morally serious document which still requires considerable discussion and reflection from those who approach it from certain and uncertain standpoints alike. It should not be subjected to Mr Powell's legislative abortion.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The simple answer that hurts the poor

Sir.—What is clear from your recent reports on Norman Fowler's statement on the Social Security Review, and the cuts proposed in housing benefit, is that the Government is planning to disguise the biggest attack on social security this century as an improvement.

When Norman Fowler speaks of "better targeting," he means more means-testing. Since means-testing is administratively expensive, the concept of "simplification" has been devised. "Simplification" in supplementary benefit means adopting the rough and ready approach of bunched claimants into "client" groups, and abolishing what Tony Newton has referred to as the "twiddly bits" i.e. single payments and additional requirements. By adopting the levelling down, instead of the levelling up approach, this means losers among those who turn to the final safety net of supplementary benefit. The

Government's concern is to reduce the poverty trap, and encourage the work incentive means increasing the gap between benefits and low wages, and this does not mean increasing wage levels.

The reviews have been motivated by two Government obsessions: to reduce the cost of public expenditure on social security in order to fund further tax cuts for the better off; and to reduce the role of the state in welfare provision, and encourage "individual responsibility" (and private insurance schemes).

A genuine concern at simplification and cost effectiveness would mean enhancement of the non-means-tested social insurance and universal benefits, such as child benefit and state pensions, which are cheap to administer and have severe problems; these can be compared with the severe problems which it has brought to our clients and which we confidently predict

will increase if this report is accurate. Our bureaux deal with at least a quarter of a million cases of multiple debt and approximately 900,000 housing enquiries each year, many of which concern arrears of housing costs. What hope will there be of these numbers reducing if housing benefit is cut to such an extent?

The article suggests that owner-occupiers on supplementary benefit will be asked to renegotiate their mortgages with the building societies. These houses are generally sympathetic to applicants by our money advisers but what will happen if agreement cannot be reached?

Claimants will either have to pay their housing costs out of the benefits they receive for food and other daily essentials or they will lose their homes and have to be housed by the local authority. In the latter case

housing benefit will again be payable, and nobody will have gained.

We are told that the proposals will affect occupational pensioners, lone parents and those on low wages in particular. Bureaux workers are going to find it difficult to explain to these already vulnerable groups that their hardship is necessary in order to finance tax cuts for the rest of us.

Mr Fowler is reported as suggesting that poverty needs to be redefined but no amount of renaming will supply our waiting rooms or feed, clothe and house those people whose resources are just not adequate.

It will not only be those who become ineligible for benefit who will suffer, many people who by any one's definition are very poor, will also lose out. Elizabeth Filkin, (Director), National Association of Citizens Advice Bureaux, London NW1

Lit crit

Sir.—W. L. Webb states incorrectly in his article Literature Chief made redundant (February 15) that the Arts Council's literature director and four members of his staff have been declared redundant. It is true to say that discussions are taking place about staffing levels in the literature department, but no one has been declared redundant. When negotiations are concluded, we shall ourselves make any appropriate announcement. Yours faithfully,

R. C. Pulford, Deputy Secretary-General, Arts Council, 105 Piccadilly, London W1.

Agony ahead

Sir.—Your report (Arts Guardian, February 15) on the firing of Colin MacInnes's novel *Absolute Beginners* and say songs are to be written for this by David Bowie, Keith Richards, Elvis Costello and Sade. Let's hope the latter will be chosen, for it is bound to be less excruciating than the others. Yours truly,

Terry Mullins, 41 Penn Road, London N7.

Mis-reading what was between the lines

Sir.—A headline in today's Guardian (February 15) reads: "Head in trouble over new race article." The ensuring line refers to an article in this Review by Mr Ray Honeyford. Mr Honeyford's article does not mention race and is concerned solely with the dominance of education theory by the ideology of the Left. A Labour councillor in Bradford—Mr John Lambert—wishes to have Mr Honeyford removed from his post for publishing his views. By covertly supporting the sneer that Honeyford, whatever he actually says, is "ob-

jectively" writing about race, you give comfort to this extraordinary attempt to prevent free discussion of matters of great public concern.

Mr Honeyford has committed no criminal offence; he has made no personal attack; he has done nothing that you would not yourself most heartily approve of, had his critics been right-wing bigots, and himself on the Left. And yet—an unprecedented action of his local authority—he is threatened with serious consequences, even with the loss of his job, simply for dis-

cussing the truth as he sees it.

The Guardian has often defended the critics of established orthodoxies against those who have power to silence them. Should it not continue to do so and refrain from allying itself with those who would prefer to ruin a man's career through slanderous accusations, than to listen patiently to what he has to say? Yours sincerely, Roger Scruton, Editor, The Salisbury Review, 7 Lord North Street, London SW1.

Pacifying the Pacific



Sir.—Alex Brummer (Guardian, February 6) gives a very one-sided account of the Anzus Pact dispute. The New Zealand government's refusal to provide port facilities for nuclear-armed ships is notational in itself (as you rightly remark in your leader of the same date) and an essential step towards the "nuclear-free South Pacific" recently accepted as a goal by all the independent countries in the region.

Writing from Washington, Mr Brummer seems to accept without questioning a disquieting degree of paranoia evident in that capital. How else can one explain his decision to refer to the Soviet military power in the eastern border areas during the past 20 years as due to a "power-hungry Soviet war machine" without even passing reference to the increasingly anti-Soviet stance adopted by China over the same period, including attacks on a major Soviet ally, Vietnam?

What evidence has Mr Brummer or the US government for that matter, of a "Soviet threat in the southern Pacific"? Where are the "Russian forces already deployed in the region"? Is this another case of the American whale being threatened by a minnow in its own, self-proclaimed, "backyard"—700 miles away in the case of Nicaragua, several thousand miles in the case of New Zealand?

Christopher Meredith, Hon. Sec. Scientists Against Nuclear Arms, London SW18.

Miscellany at large

Sir.—This week we have witnessed the metamorphosis of "She who must be obeyed" into "She who must be believed." Would anyone care to speculate upon the next development? — Yours sincerely, Gwyn Davies, West Glamorgan.

Sir.—When will there be a change in the rules of engagement between Neil Kinnock and Margaret Thatcher? Or will this be covered by section 2 of the Official Secrets Act? — Sincerely, Mike Entwistle, 36 Stomhouse Crescent, Radley, Abingdon, Oxon.

Sir.—Your front page headline "Threat to live looking on TV" (Friday Feb. 15) and the first half of the first paragraph of the article under it, has already been overtaken by events long ago. There has not been a live football, or anything else

for that matter, for a very long time now, regardless of what the football League is saying or doing... The speeded up, slowed down, repeated and edited morsels of several matches in as little as half an hour must be acceptable to the public at large, especially the busy insomniacs, but they do not constitute a sporting experience. Tony Zaleski, 51 King Edward's Gardens, London W3.

Sir.—I wish to correct any confusion that may have arisen as a result of a misprint in my Valentine message to Nurse England. "England and England" should have read "England, my England" thus making it clear that it is Nurse England that I believe to be "wild and organic and not this country of ours, as the nurse in the survey of the prairies of southern England will confirm. — Yours sincerely, (Dr) T. White ("Timbo"), John Radcliffe Hospital, Headington, Oxon.

A COUNTRY DIARY

NORTHERN PENNINES. There seemed enough snow for practice skiing on the summit cairn of Cross Fell, in the centre of a trackless mile-wide plateau, meant careful compass work. It has been said that the horizon, east to west on a clear day, from this plateau can be up to 150 miles apart. — North to south, but from the summit cairn itself, because of the extraordinarily flat plateau, you see nothing except foreground and limit-less sky. And my view the other way from the top of the mountain, once thought to carry eternal snow and to be the highest in England, was about as far as I could spit. They changed the name from Fiend's Fell because of the cross erected to drive the devils away, but they still up there in the furious gale that, nowadays, they call the Helm Wind. A. HARRY GRIFFIN.

Why the last word in secrecy is best left with the jury



Hugo Young

THE REASON the government is in the dock today is because of its deep, occupational, ineradicable belief in secrecy. With a few exceptions, the Commons will not be interested in the sinking of the Belgrano. What bothers MPs is the endlessly devious cover-up afterwards. This is what bothers Mr Clive Ponting. With a little more foresight and a little more honesty, ministers could have avoided all the problems over the Belgrano as well as the elevation of Mr Ponting into an insufferable hero. The fact that they did not do so is the fact which really matters.

Mr Heseltine and Mr Stanley will probably get away with their skins tonight. Mr Heseltine, at any rate, will need to be exceptionally incompetent if he fails to. While it is quite inconceivable that they and Mrs Thatcher were uninformed and unengaged when Mr Ponting made his confession, it is also quite believable, to anyone who knows anything about lawyers, that ministers were, as Mrs Thatcher has insisted, not "involved in the decision to prosecute."

Our, but at least it has forced her for the first time to treat him as an equal, whose charges are as serious and persistent as to oblige her to retaliate with ever more outraged exclamations of self-defence. In this way, Mr Kinnock has risen from the depths even though he is wrong.

What he clearly finds hard to take is the hermetic world of Whitehall as described in the Thatcher letters: a world in which every conversation is logged, no words are exchanged across forbidden frontiers, and ministers remain, once Mr Ponting's bombshell has exploded, perfectly silent and composed, behaving with the propriety of people who have the rulebooks governing these day-to-day occurrences permanently open in front of them.

And of course this picture is incredible. There is no possibility of it being true as anyone with the smallest experience of crisis in any organisation will instantly appreciate. Yet, at the same time, when it comes to prosecution and the law, it is entirely likely that another institutional trait took over. Most politicians regard law and lawyers like medicine and doctors, as arcane territory guarded by mysterious priests. With the criminal law, this would be just as true of taxlawyer Thatcher.

to trap the Government—who precisely was involved in deciding to prosecute. Ponting?—therefore seems quite unpromising. Much more to the point are the numerous decisions to tell less than the truth about the Belgrano; and together with this, the jubilant belief that the whole episode has finally knocked the bottom out of section 2 of the Official Secrets Act, which must now surely be reformed.

This is a decision. Go back to ministers' original conduct. It was inspired by a pathological desire to reveal as little as possible, even about a battle long won and even when the precise issue was a little political sensitivity. Consider this collective mental condition as applied to the business of reforming the Official Secrets Act, and ask whether it is to be trusted with such a reform. My answer is No.

Far from being the right moment to campaign for reform, the Ponting acquittal is just the wrong one. Obviously section 2, with its catch-all provisions, as an absurdity. The unusual, if not unique, contribution of the Ponting case is to make the section look dangerously absurd to the authorities as well as to the citizen. Ribbick's absurdity has worked to the authorities' advantage. They have therefore seen no interest in changing it. Now a jury has blown it apart, the balance of interest begins to shift.

On that and other grounds, the 1979 bill was torn to destruction by the House of Lords. But it had been a bipartisan measure. Mr Whitelaw took it over from Mr Mervyn Rees. Both, presumably, imagined they were satisfying the long-argued demand for a better law. This, expressing to perfection the official mind and its utter inability to surrender any particle of control, was the best they could do.

It is not immediately clear why the Ponting drama should have altered this state of affairs in the right direction. Why should treachery (as government sees it) of one civil servant induce the writing of a statute allowing far greater openness? Why should the pervasiveness of government secrecy (as the public sees it) lead any sensible minister or official to put energy behind a liberalising measure, encouraging more disclosures and thus a public interest defence for leakers and whistle-blowers?

A more probable response from ministers would be the opposite. It would, under the guise of abolishing the "intolerable" section 2, be to update the security apparatus and its legal framework in ways which would, as a minimum, ensure that no jury could ever again acquit a Ponting, and no journalist could ever again plead the anachronism of the Official Secrets Act as a reason for disregarding it. To judge from their reaction to the Ponting case, most Tory MPs would positively welcome such a measure.

As it happens, powerful evidence that this is exactly what is under pressure for that reason, the press would always find fault with any new information regime proposed by a reforming government.

That may be so. But I would prefer to wait to put it to the test under a government, if such ever exists, whose proposals for reform were made in good faith. Any government prepared to slide as far as this one will tonight, in defence of the future secrecy over the Belgrano, has shown its colours clear and strong. It will send Mr Heseltine to the slits against the public's right to know.

What is left is an entirely unsatisfactory situation: but one in which liberty, justice and good government will be safer left in the hands of an English jury than smothered in the phony benevolence of a new law.

Labour's not in vain

Sir.—In his deeply pessimistic article (Guardian, February 15) Colin Crouch appears to see no possibility that the Labour movement (the trade unions and the political parties of the left) can link up with, campaign for, and be itself transformed by, the "minorities trapped in destitution and hopelessness."

It is true that sometimes sectarian and elitist attitudes within the left can prevent this. The appointment of Sam Bond as race relations worker by Liverpool City Council was a case in point. The objections of the city's black community were overruled by the Labour group's interpretation of the necessities of "class" politics. Result—the alienation of many black activists from the left, or at least a particular part of it, and a lost opportunity to bring in new forces to tackle racism within the Labour movement.

Fortunately there are more hopeful signs. The two People's Marches for Jobs gave a glimpse (albeit briefly) of the trade unions leading a mass campaign against unemployment. The more the miners have been able to express the struggle in terms of the defence of the community, the future of youth, the role of women, and have linked up with other groups, for example progressive church people, the stronger they have been. The campaign in defence of the GLC has also been able to reach far wider than the confines of the left.

This broad approach must become the pattern for the future if the isolation of impoverished minorities that Colin Crouch predicts, as well as further decline in support for the Labour movement, is to be prevented.

The political contacts and attitudes that can result from such alliances will help lift the horizons of the Labour movement and increase its powers of attraction, as well as enthusing more people already within its ranks. In this way the aspirations, experiences and lifestyles of such movements as feminism, ecology, black peoples' organisations, CND, youth, gay liberation, culture and national aspiration can be incorporated into socialism, can offer adding to the rich heritage from more traditional constituencies, and the concept of working-class political and economic power.

Most of all questions of democracy must become the heart of our vision of socialism. These radical and far reaching objectives, not Colin Crouch's call for a new "revisionism," are the way the left will increase its credibility.

In this context it is a sad footnote that the same issue of the Guardian that contained Colin Crouch's article, also carried the shameful report that Labour had voted with the Tories in the House of Commons to defeat an amendment calling for proportional representation. — Yours sincerely, Dave Cook, London SW9.

Human Rights Convention

From the standpoint of the citizen, however, the Bill actually increases the scope of statutory oppression. It gives legal validity to a form of tapping not hitherto known even to exist: tapping to "safeguard the economic well-being of the country." It diminishes by not one whit the powers of ministers to authorise taps; indeed, by clothing them in statutory garb, it blesses and encourages them. It does not moderate the pernicious secrecy attaching to the statistics of phone-tapping. And it puts in place a regulatory tribunal which someone believes this communications are being improperly intercepted. The tribunal is a bogus piece of window-dressing.

So I fear, would be any reform of the Official Secrets Act in present times. Governments, least of all this one, are simply not in business to surrender power over either their employees or their information. They might equally reply that the press is not in business to be an accomplice to any restriction of information; and that for this reason, the press would always find fault with any new information regime proposed by a reforming government.

That may be so. But I would prefer to wait to put it to the test under a government, if such ever exists, whose proposals for reform were made in good faith. Any government prepared to slide as far as this one will tonight, in defence of the future secrecy over the Belgrano, has shown its colours clear and strong. It will send Mr Heseltine to the slits against the public's right to know.

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PRODUCTION EDITORIAL ASSISTANT

A rapidly growing well established international Management Consultancy specialising in publishing reports on information technology require an energetic and motivated person with strong administrative capabilities to set up and provide production facilities.

Applicants should have experience of final editing layout with printers and creating sample graphics as well as a strong interest in word processing. Salary £12,000 plus annual bonus and BUPA.

Please send CV with salary history to T. E. BODEN, CORPORATION, 17 Bedford Square, London WC1.

PRODUCTION ASSISTANT

For both secretarial and production work in health book publishers, two minutes from Camden Town tube. Good prospects. Experience in this field an advantage.

Please apply with particulars to: Paul Valerio, MARTIN DUNN LTD, 164 Camden High Street, London NW1 0WE. Tel: 01-482 2202

Interior Design

SALES

£2,000 + commission

My clients, manufacturers of high quality flooring tiles, are looking for bright, young sales people for the London area and Southern England.

Please ring Beverly Stoop

JAYGAR CAREERS

01-730 9379

RECRUITMENT CONSULTANTS

Craft Development Officer

£5,920-£8,400 p.a.

An enthusiastic person with experience in the arts and crafts is required to join the team at Putney Country Park Craft Centre.

The successful applicant (male or female) must have specific knowledge in either the field of wood, textiles or sculpture and will be expected to play a major role towards future exhibitions, events and educational programmes planned for the Centre. A certain degree of administrative experience is necessary and a full current driving licence is essential.

Relocation expenses where appropriate. Application forms and job description are available from the Director of Leisure Services, Staffing Section, Trent Bridge House, Fox Road, West Bromford, Nottingham, NG2 8EL. If you wish to receive an acknowledgment, please send a self-addressed envelope (no stamp required) with your completed application. Closing date 28 February. Please quote ref. 110.

An Equal Opportunity Employer.

NEWS SUB-EDITOR

required for Surrey's leading paper, the Surrey Advertiser. Ability to produce accurate layouts, both tabloid and broadsheet, essential.

Write: E. W. Adams, Editor, Surrey Advertiser, Martyn Road, Guildford GU1 4LQ, or telephone the Editor's secretary on (0483) 571234.

GLC Working for London

General Manager

South Bank Concert Halls

The management of these internationally renowned concert halls: Royal Festival Hall, Queen Elizabeth Hall and the Purcell Room, is a key appointment within the Department of Recreation and the Arts.

The highest degree of innovative and entrepreneurial ability is called for in continuing the development of the Halls as a major venue for cultural events and entertainments. Day-to-day management responsibilities cover concert, dance and event planning, the Open Foyer policy, the direction of a staff of 250 and the control of a substantial budget. An understanding of the council's equal opportunities policy and its implications for all aspects of management is a key requirement.

A dynamic professional manager is sought, capable of getting results within tight deadlines. Substantial experience in music, the arts and in marketing as well as in the field of industrial relations, is called for. The arts and music of ethnic minorities are an important element of the Hall's programmes and a clear understanding of their contribution is required of candidates.

This is a re-advertisement and previous applicants will be automatically reconsidered.

Salary: £23,461 - £25,533 inclusive.

Ethnic minorities and women are under represented in senior posts in the Department for Recreation and the Arts and applicants from both groups would be particularly welcome.

The GLC is an equal opportunities employer. We invite applications from women and men from all sections of the community, irrespective of their ethnic origin, colour, sexual orientation or disability, who have the necessary attributes to do the job.

For an application form, to be returned by 1st March 1985, write to: GLC Senior Officer Appointments, PE, SE1, 1B3N, The County Hall, SE1 7PB or telephone 01-633 5136.

This post is for job sharing

CLASSICAL RECORD SLEEVE CO-ORDINATOR

We require an experienced Sleeve Co-ordinator to join our small team. The work principally concerns the research of illustrative material for all forms of packaging of classical recordings, liaison with various departments and agencies in the collection of editorial matter for the production of record sleeve notes. Candidates should be music graduates with a sound knowledge and interest in the history of art. Only those with relevant experience should apply. Age preferred 25+. In addition to an attractive salary we offer LV's, 5 weeks holiday, Xmas bonus, STL etc.

Please write with full career details to:

Sally Mill, Personnel Officer, Decca International, 1 Rockley Road, London W14.

DECCA

SOUNDS needs an Editor

Please apply in writing with full C.V. to:

Eric Fuller, SOUNDS, 40 Longacre, London WC2

SPEAK AMERICAN?

Publisher is looking for individuals with backgrounds in Cookery, Crafts, Medicine, DIY and some experience of editing, writing or researching.

We can offer employment for approximately two years.

Please write enclosing cv to:

A. Carroll, DORLING KINDERSLEY LTD, 1-2 Henrietta Street, London WC2E 8PS

HEAD OF INFORMATION SECTION

Starting Salary £8,151 pa

BSI's Standards Division has a vacancy for an Information Officer to lead a small team monitoring, analysing and presenting essential management information.

Applicants should have a degree or HNC in Business Studies or Information Science, and relevant work experience. Minimum age 25 years.

For full information and application form, please contact:-

MISS E. MACARTHUR Senior Personnel Officer, British Standards Institution, 2 Park Street, LONDON W1A 2BS. Telephone 01-529 8000 Ext. 66

BBC

PROGRAMME ASSISTANTS, HUNGARIAN SECTION

EXTERNAL SERVICES

Central London

£10,630*

3 year short-term contract

Applicants must have Hungarian as own or best language and a thorough knowledge of English; ability to translate accurately from English into Hungarian; a suitable radio voice; degree level of education or substantial knowledge of Hungarian cultural and political life; ability to type or willingness to learn. Broadcasting or journalistic experience an advantage. (Ref. X2080/G)

REPORTERS

Radio Nottingham (Ref. 2101/G)

Radio Leeds (Ref. 2091/G)

£8,038 - £9,552*

Are you a young ambitious reporter with at least three years' journalistic experience? If so, Radio Nottingham and Radio Leeds have vacancies that may interest you. The work is primarily reporting, interviewing, bulletin writing and newsreading. Good microphone voice and current driving licence essential.

STATION ASSISTANT

Southampton

£6,770 - £8,761

Plus 15% irregular hour working allowance

Floor management - graphics work - arranging studio sets and properties are some of the duties, and in Southampton you would be working on *South Today*, our regional news magazine. Features Programmes and *Breakfast Time*. You must be able to make a creative contribution; an appreciation of radio or television production and ability in graphics are also essential. (Ref. 1092/G)

*Plus allowance of £537 p.a. Salaries currently under review.

Relocation expenses considered for permanent posts.

Contact us immediately for application form (quote appropriate ref. no. and enclose s.a.e.): BBC Appointments, London W1A 1AA. Tel. 01-927 5799.

We are an equal opportunities employer

Corporate Communications

We are seeking two people to join a team responsible for producing publications, speeches and audiovisual presentation material for internal and external audiences.

An ability to grasp and interpret complex technical subjects and communicate them effectively is essential, together with an interest in general political and economic affairs and the oil industry. Exhaustive consultation with specialists throughout the organisation and detailed attention to clearances is routine.

You need to work as part of a team in a busy, hectic open office, but with enough discipline to get your own work done - fast!

The senior position requires experience in briefing and controlling a range of outside contractors. You will write and edit, supervising some work in the team, and give advice to others within Esso who need print or audio visual services.

The junior position needs someone who is quick to learn the communications business and willing to try everything, but you must have the grey matter and pliability to fit a demanding company with high standards.

Salaries and benefits are competitive and appropriate to the standing of a major organisation.

Written applications to John Peters, Manager Communications, Esso UK plc, Esso House, Victoria Street, London SW1E 6JW.

Esso are an Equal Opportunity Employer and positively welcome applications from members of ethnic minority groups.

Esso

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

Department for External Studies

needs an

ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

(£6,600-£10,330)

To run part of the extensive Summer School programme and to assist with other aspects of the Department's work, most especially with marketing and publicising its wide range of activities. The successful candidate is likely to be a graduate with good general admin and marketing abilities and interest in Adult Continuing Education.

Further details: Deputy Director's Secretary, Department for External Studies, 1, Wellington Square, Oxford OX1 2JA. Tel: (0865) 5290. Closing date: 11th March 1985

ADVERTISING MANAGER

CLASSIFIED SALES TEAM

A leading UK entertainment industry trade publication is looking for a dynamic and experienced advertisement manager to work as part of a small close-knit team. Remuneration will be commensurate with experience and ability.

The magazine is part of a small aggressive trade publishing group about to expand into new areas of the market. We therefore need to immediately recruit new members to our classified sales team. Working in a relaxed atmosphere part of a team.

Contact us now on 01-887 1538

BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT OFFICER

Are you dynamic, positive self starter with a good telephone manner interested in working for a European subsidiary of a major American Architectural Management Company?

Are you able to motivate and organise yourself? Do your skills include secretarial, marketing or journalistic experience and can you speak a European language? If you can do all this and more!

Phone Heather Cornish 01-631 4710 or send c.v. to: HEERY EUROPE LTD, 49 Russell Square, London WC1B 4JP

MEDICAL EDITOR

required by company organising international medical meetings, to be responsible for symposium proceedings and related publications. Extensive experience of editing medical papers essential

EDITORIAL ASSISTANT

needed to assist Medical Editors on wide range of publications. Duties to include sub-editing, proof-reading, admin. Relevant publishing experience necessary.

Full details in writing to: Kay Hyman, MCI Ltd, 32-36 Darnsbury Street, London NW1 3ND.

Society for the Promotion of Music

requires an

ASSISTANT TO THE ADMINISTRATOR

This post would suit someone seriously pursuing a career in Arts Administration. Excellent typing essential and experience of publicity and book-keeping highly desirable. Non-Smoker Salary c.£6,700.

Please write with full c.v. and the names of two referees to: The Administrator, SPMA, 10 Stratford Place, London W1N 6AE. Closing date for applications 28 February.

BRITISH FILM INSTITUTE

Head of Production

c. £19,000-£24,000

The Institute's Production Division has developed a key role in the financing, production, promotion and distribution of a range of experimental, documentary and low budget feature films. It has an international reputation as maker and distributor of culturally, rather than commercially, orientated films and has a similar though less well developed brief in the field of video.

Initially on a two year contract, the new Head of Production Division primarily will be required to establish the future financial viability of the Production activity and to develop and implement policies of film making and financing, project development and script commissioning through the editorial mechanism of the Production Board.

The successful applicant will have a thorough understanding of and experience in film making, awareness of the current state of British film culture, proven judgement in the film and video arts, a practical knowledge of film and television financing and commensurate administrative skills.

For further details and an Application Form, apply to

Personnel Department, 127 Charing Cross Road, London WC2. Tel: 01-437 4355.

CLOSING DATE: 11th March 1985.



Graphic Designer/Trainee

We have a vacancy in the Graphics Department at our Manchester Television Centre for a Designer or Design Assistant.

Candidates should be trained to degree level in graphic design and be able to show a good typographical sense with a strong bias towards illustration dealing with the production of graphics and art work for the full range of our programmes. For designer grades, experience in the television industry is essential. In addition experience or knowledge of film animation techniques and computer graphics will be very useful.

If no suitably trained candidates apply a trainee will be considered.

Salary from £5483 for trainee grade and from £15448 for Graphic Designer, according to experience. Other benefits include 25 days annual leave, pension scheme and free life assurance. Assistance with relocation may be available.

Write with full cv of qualifications and experience by 1st March 1985 to



Christine Saxton,
Ref: B32,
Granada Television Ltd., Quay Street,
Manchester M60 9EA.

GRANADA TELEVISION
An equal opportunity employer

LEADING PARTS
IN THE WEST END!

Promotions, Publicity & Advertising

c. £14,000

Selfridges is the West End's leading store with a promotional and publicity budget in excess of £3m a year. We now need two retail or similar professionals to pick up sizeable portfolios within this substantial activity.

Advertising Manager

To administer the £2m above-and-below-the-line promotional budget, liaising between Buyers, Managers and the advertising agency on all creative and administrative matters. You'll have the satisfaction of planning and monitoring a major part of our retail advertising, strong involvement in budget setting and control, and the responsibility of buying point-of-sale print.

We're looking for exceptional administrative ability in someone with an eye for detail, excellent communications skills, tact and the ability to work under pressure. Aged 25-40, your experience will preferably include a knowledge of the retail sector — probably gained as assistant to the Advertising Manager of a similar organisation, or perhaps on the account handling side of an agency.

Press/Publicity Officer

To create, manage and publicise promotional activities within and outside the store, to press and publicise. This will involve a "star studded" programme ranging from exhibitions to special events, fashion shows to "famous name" personal appearances.

We would like to hear from people aged 30+ with a sound background in the retail, fashion or closely related fields, who can think on their feet and communicate powerfully and persuasively. We need someone with the confidence and self-motivation to shoulder a lot of responsibility, who is positive and outgoing rather than just a "backroom" "press release pusher".

There's no better place to consolidate and extend your experience than in our progressive and internationally respected store.

In addition to the salary of around £14,000 for each position, there is a valuable and comprehensive package of management benefits.

Please send your full career details, to Rosemary Martin, Personnel Manager, Selfridges Limited, 400 Oxford Street, London W1.

Selfridges

OFFICE PLANNER
London NW2 circa £11,000
Production office telephone and client liaison at all levels
GRAPHIC DESIGNER
High Wycombe circa £10,000
To produce stationery, letterheads, manuals
Tel: 01-225 6544 Uxbridge
Montrose Design Staff

Senior Designer
Designer

(Reference GU1476)

We currently have the above two vacancies in the busy design section based at our new studio centre at Culverhouse Cross, Cardiff.

Our output covers the whole spectrum of television production ranging from studio discussions to major location drama productions.

HTV is an ambitious and expanding company aiming for an increase in its programme contribution to the network and will expect a high level of commitment and professionalism from the successful candidate.

For the senior position we are looking for a designer with considerable experience of, and a proven track record in, set design. Candidates for the post of Designer should have a minimum of three years experience in set design.

Salary, including supplements,
Senior Designer: £17,200 p.a.
Designer: £15,400 p.a.

Suitably qualified applicants should write for an application form enclosing a self-addressed envelope and quoting relevant reference to The Personnel Manager, HTV Limited, The Television Centre, Cardiff CF5 6XJ.

COMMUNITY SERVICE VOLUNTEERS: SCOTLAND
The National Volunteer AgencySENIOR CO-ORDINATOR,
ACTION LINE: GLASGOW

Action Line is a joint project with Scottish Television involving the activities and needs of voluntary organisations and community groups and seeking responses from the Glasgow-based Senior Co-ordinator complementing the Edinburgh Co-ordinator providing a service across the whole of Scotland's broadcasting area.

The postholder will have overall responsibility for the present operation of Action Line and its future development. Responsibilities will include liaison with STV support of staff and volunteers, publicity and public relations, and preparation of back-up material. Applicants need knowledge of the voluntary sector, experience of or strong interest in the media, plus drive and enthusiasm to develop and promote new initiatives.

Salary: £14,000 Scale 9 £15,332-£14,144 per annum
Details and application forms from: Carolyn Myers, CSN, 287 Perthshire Road, London W11 2AL. Tel: 01-275 6601, ext 255. Closing date: 28th February, 1985.

ADVERTISING SALES
A SPECIAL OPPORTUNITY
We are looking for top advertising sales people to sell and develop The Publisher and Print Buyer magazines to their full potential. Age and experience is irrelevant; the ability to sell on these expanding and respected titles is more important.
Salary, commission and other benefits make this package worth well over £10,000 p.a.
Phone Peter Baker or Tony Bailey for further details on 01-225-2955.

MACRO PUBLISHING LTD WOODSIDE, HERTS

THE ARVON FOUNDATION
WISHES TO APPOINT AN EXCEPTIONAL COUPLE AS
CENTRE DIRECTORS
OF TOTTENHAM

The couple must be versatile, interested in contemporary writing and committed to the aims and methods of Arvon. A current driving licence is essential. For full details of these important posts please write or ring Arvon, Tottelgh Barton, Sheepwash, Devon EX21 5NS (046922) 536.

SCIENCE AND
TECHNOLOGY
APPOINTMENTS

APPEAR EVERY THURSDAY IN

THE GUARDIAN

MORE CREATIVE AND MEDIA
APPEARS ON PAGE 21

HEAD OF
PRESS OFFICE

Salary £13,197-£14,280

Ref RE413(2)

We are looking for someone to run our lively Press Office. Lewisham has recently been identified as having more free sheets through more doors than anywhere else in the country.

That means lots of press queries, often on complex issues, not only from free sheets but from all areas of the media. But we want an active press office taking the initiative with the media, not just responding. Also, this post is heavily involved in the preparation of the Council's monthly newspaper (Outlook) which is the Council's main communication tool.

The person we are looking for will be a skilled communicator with experience in press/media relations and journalism in an inner city, multi-racial community. The council operates a scheme for flexible working hours. Applications from job sharers welcomed.

For further information ring Tim Sellick, Head of Public Relations, on 01-690 4343 ext 1. Alternatively, if you would like to speak to a member of staff in the Press Office, contact Nick Jones on 01-690 4343.

HEAD OF DESIGN

Salary £12,213-£13,197

Ref RE418(1)

Impossible deadlines and demanding clients are just some of the problems the postholder in this demanding position will face.

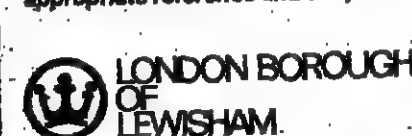
Because of internal promotion, we are now looking for someone to head the design team in our public relations unit.

You must have a varied design background and ideally some staff management experience. Lewisham's design team handle all forms of publicity and information material, including large-scale exhibitions, leaflet and poster design, newspaper layout and booklet design — all produced quickly and economically and printed through internal and external sources.

The Council operates a scheme for flexible working hours. Applications from job sharers welcomed.

For further information ring Tim Sellick, Head of Public Relations, on 01-690 4343 ext 1. Alternatively, if you would like to speak to a member of staff in the design team, contact Gaye Henry on 01-690 4343.

Application form, returnable by 8th March, 1985, and detailed job description, from Chief Personnel Officer, Riverdale Offices, 68 Molesworth Street, London SE13 7EU or Tel 01-318 9297 (24-hour Ansafone service), quoting appropriate reference and the job title.



Our jobs are open equally to all races and both sexes.

LEWISHAM'S SERVICES
Let's know them

AN EXCITING NEW MAGAZINE SERIES
FOR YOUNGER WOMEN
COMING SOON ON CHANNEL 4

We are looking for people who are interested in women's issues — with some fun thrown in. People prepared to start work in London within a month, people who can prove a solid background in television — and people who can move fast. All applications must be in by Monday, February 25th.

Presenter/Reporters

To present as part of a team from the studio and to handle location reporting on a news basis. Applicants should be between 20 and 30 — and only those able to produce a VHS sample of previously broadcast TV material need apply. Initial contract: six months from mid-March.

Line Producer

To work alongside the series producer in the development and treatment of the series. Studio and ENG experience essential, preferably in current affairs and magazine format. Initial contract: six months from mid-March.

Studio Director

MUST have multi-camera directing experience; the successful applicant is likely to have worked for a major TV network within a magazine format programme. Initial contract: 14 weeks from mid-June.

ENG Directors

To direct a large range of AT insert features from fashion and entertainment to sport and current affairs. Must have 2-3 years experience. Initial contract: three or six months from mid-March.

Researcher

To provide and follow up a broad spectrum of feature and news ideas; we are looking for an obvious commitment to women's issues as well as at least two years in mainstream television research. Initial contract: six months from mid-March.

All applications in writing only to: Carol Serier Productions, 58 Whitehall Street, London W1M 6PQ.

BRITISH FILM INSTITUTE
ASSISTANT EDITOR

c.£8,100 p.a.

Located in the BFI Press Office, the postholder will be required to administer all aspects of the publication of the BFI Yearbook and 350 and participate in other Press Office functions. You will be involved in researching, commissioning and writing material and will have several years editorial experience. Some writing experience good, though not essential. Must be able to work with word processors. An interest in film and television is desirable.

For further details and an application form please contact Personnel Department, 127 Charing Cross Road, London WC2N 0EA. Telephone 01-437 4355.

We are an Equal Opportunities Employer.

PUBLISHING PRODUCTION

Controller required to assist Production Director of publishing company, handling partworks and magazine one-shots.

Would suit someone with two to three years experience of dealing with typesetting, colour origination and web offset printing.

Must be able to control tight schedules, organise internal systems and deal confidently with suppliers.

Salary negotiable according to experience.

Write with c.v. to: Jan Green, Whitely Strachan Ltd, 187 Oxford Street, London W1R 1AJ.

SENIOR
SUB-EDITOR

We need a bright qualified Sub, who is able to work quickly and accurately on his/her initiative and is capable of seeing copy through from raw to final film stage. A lively and imaginative approach is vital for this responsible position as part of our small team.

Please apply with full cv to: Giff MacLennan, Editor, London House, 271-273 King St, Hammersmith W6 8LZ.

CONTEMPORARY PRINT
PUBLISHERS

seek hardworking, young assistant, with an interest in the arts, to work as part of internal marketing team, handling the packing and co-ordination of orders, stock control and general clerical duties. Good typing and ability to work meticulously and cheerfully in a team environment. Salary a.e.e.

Reply with c.v. to: Christie's Contemporary Art, 8 Dover Street, London W1X 3PL.

Recording Studio serving advertising and Music
Industry require

PA/RECEPTIONIST

Some bookkeeping experience. Salary negotiable. Please ring Nicki Stuart on 01-289 6204.

MUSICWEEK
Editor

The promotion of the present Editor of Music Week — the business magazine covering the UK music industry — leaves a vacancy for which applications are now invited.

The successful applicant will be someone with a thorough knowledge of all the business aspects of the music industry, with the personality and ability to communicate at all levels of the industry, and with proven journalistic experience. He or she must be able to cope with a rigorous weekly magazine schedule, show management skills in leading a tight-knit team, and work closely with the advertisement staff to maximise revenue opportunities through supplements and advertising features. The most vital qualities are a sharply-developed news sense and a responsible attitude to reporting the activities of the music industry.

This is a highly demanding but rewarding job which carries the usual benefits of a major publishing company. Apply, by letter only and enclosing full c.v. to: Rodney Burbeck, Associate Publisher, Music Week, 40 Long Acre, London WC2.

The Company is an equal opportunities employer. Employment terms are embodied in an agreement between the Company and the N.U.J.

METROPOLE ARTS CENTRE
FOLKESTONE, KENT

is seeking to appoint an

ARTISTIC DIRECTOR

The Metropole Arts Centre is a leading visual arts gallery serving Kent and the South East Region, and is a local point for other arts including music, literature and the performing arts.

The successful applicant should have training and experience in the visual arts and have a strong and positive feel for the overall artistic needs of the community.

Salary between £8,500-£10,000 according to qualifications and experience.
Further information on request.
Applications with c.v. in confidence to: The Chairman, Executive Committee, Metropole Arts Centre Trust, The Metropole, The Doss, Folkestone, Kent CT20 2LS.
Closing date: 15th March 1985

LAYOUT MANAGER

required for

PUBLISHERS

to manage small team of artists working mainly on the "British Library Catalogue of Printed Books".
Salary £8,900.

Apply in writing to:

Judi Vernau, K.G. Saur Ltd
Shropshire House
2-10 Capper Street
London WC1 6JA

GREATER MANCHESTER ARTS CENTRE LTD.

FILM OFFICER

Manchester's new film and visual arts centre opens in September, 1985. Working with the Cinema Director the FILM OFFICER will assist with the running of two busy, full-time Auditoria and will play a large part in establishing a lively media education programme. Sound knowledge of contemporary debates in film and television will be expected.

For job description please send an s.a.c. to: S. Ward, Greater Manchester Arts Centre, c/o The Palace Theatre, Oxford Street, Manchester M1 6FT. Closing date: March 12, 1985.

COPYWRITER
Recruitment Advertising

As one of the most dynamic names in the next world of recruitment advertising, we can offer someone with actual or relevant writing experience a new level of opportunity. At £10 million billing and growing, we offer a real career. We're a large, varied and accounts for you to work on and a high creative reputation for you to help maintain.

So whether your background is recruitment writing and you're looking for a step up — or technical writing and you're looking to step out — we've an opportunity and a salary package that will appeal. For details contact:
John Harbutt, Creative Director,
Whites Bull Homes Ltd.,
63 St. Martin's Lane, London WC2
Phone 01-836 4466

CHIEF EXECUTIVE'S DEPARTMENT

Senior Information Officer

£11,964 — £12,810 p.a. (incl.)

This is a demanding post in one of London's busiest local government press and publicity teams.

You will undertake all publicity and campaign work in a number of key areas producing a variety of publications and maintaining good relations with the media, Council members and department heads.

You should have proven ability of writing clearly to strict deadlines. The ability to think quickly under pressure, develop your own ideas and plan your own work are essential attributes for this post.

You must be willing to attend evening meetings. Technical knowledge of production is essential and experience of layout of different print formats will be an advantage.

Please note that this is a re-advertisement and previous applicants need not apply.

Application form from and to be returned to: Departmental Staffing Officer, Room 207, Town Hall, Euston Road, NW1 2BU. Tel: 01-837 9988 (Ansafone) quoting reference no 1A/280/G. Closing date: 11th March, 1985.



equal opportunity employer

Applicants are considered on the basis of their suitability for the post, with equal opportunities for women, black/ethnic minorities, lesbians and gay men and people with disabilities, and regardless of marital status, age, creed/religion and unrelated criminal conviction. All posts are open for job-sharing.

Proof Reader

WC2 firm of solicitors require full-time proof reader (hours 9.30 to 5.30) to join existing team of two. Some familiarity with editing and/or legal work would be desirable but not essential. Competitive salary and benefits are offered.

If you are interested please ring Christine Townsend on 01-836 8400

The Economist

PRODUCTION
ASSISTANT

Marketing Department

We are looking for a self-motivated and enthusiastic person aged between 21-25 years to assist the Creative Services Manager.

You will liaise with the group sales departments, assisting the production of artwork, print and sales promotion material. In addition there will be an involvement in audio visual presentations.

Ideally you should have excellent organisational abilities, creative flair, good writing skills and capable of working on your initiative often under sustained pressure.

Applicants should have at least two years experience in a relevant field.

Please write with full C.V., including details of current salary to:

Bob Cooksey
Marketing Department
The Economist Newspaper Limited
25 Abchurch Lane
London EC4N 3DF

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

requires an

ASSISTANT
EDITOR

(part-time, Freelance)

For the journal EARLY MUSIC. To work from OUP's London office, assisting the editor and being responsible for the co-ordination of the editorial and production processes of the journal.

Essential: extensive knowledge of music, pre-1800 and writers of music of that period; experience of preparing material for publication, clear-headed organisational ability to respond well to pressure of deadlines. Desirable: professional experience of journals, music or music books publishing.

Apply at once with full c.v. and names of two referees to: Sue Johnson, Personnel Department, Oxford University Press, Walton Street, Oxford OX2 6DP.

JOURNALIST

For London based weekly commodity trade publication. Proven experience, prepared to take responsibility leading to a career progression with international travel. Salary and associated benefits by negotiation. Ring Geraldine for an appointment on 01-622 6677.

adventure

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IN MOST WAYS Hawashit, the Baraka province of "liberated" Eritrea, looks much like any other refugee camp in famine-stricken Africa. But in one special way it is very different from all the others. You cannot see it until you are right upon it, dispersed beneath the acacia and the palms. For like so much else here, feeding the starving has to be hidden from view. The Ethiopian airforce does not confine itself to military targets—striking at villages, convoys of people, and vehicles—and, though it is far from being the most efficient in the world and its area of operation is vast, it is undoubtedly only the precautions of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) that has ensured that casualties are not as high as they might otherwise have been.

One of the first responsibilities with which the refugees are entrusted is to look after their own security and camouflage. The women in their brightly coloured robes can be particularly conspicuous, so can the smoke from the wood fires on which they bake their bread. So when, soon after the clouds—the rainless clouds—had dispersed one morning last week, two MIG-23s screamed in a long, low arc over the camp there was no panic, the grain distribution immediately stopped and those in the open made for the trees. The aircraft hung around for about ten minutes, before going home. They are regular visitors.

For the Eritreans, it is only to be expected that the Ethiopian regime, faring so badly on the battlefield, should regard the famine as a heaven-sent opportunity to starve them—and the other rebellious provinces of Tigre—into submission. They are not surprised that it should forbid the free passage of food from its own side and then, when the Eritreans and Tigreans—battered as well as starving—make for refugee camps in the Sudan, it should denounce the UN for "luring" them into these "reservoirs of terrorists".

What they profess to find particularly galling, however, is that the UN and the West should channel their aid via a government which neither has the intention nor the means to deliver it to those for whom it is intended.

Eritrea, with its three million people, and Tigre, with its five, constitute a large, if not the major, part of drought-stricken Ethiopia. "We reckon," said Paulus Giorgis, chairman of the Eritrean Relief Association,



Sacks appeal: The problems start when the aid arrives

DAVID HIRST, just back from 'liberated' Eritrea, finds that famine has not stopped the war

'We shall eat dirt until our country is free'

"that, at present, Ethiopia is getting 30 times as much grain as Eritrea, and probably more than that if calculated on a per capita basis of those who need it."

In practice, Eritreans argue, the West and the Soviet Union are now cooperating in preserving the Mengistu regime in Addis Ababa, the one with aid the other with arms. The West is deluding itself, they say, if it believes that it can wear back such a narrowly based, deeply unpopular military junta.

The camp here at Hawashit was set up last November. It is run by the Eritrean Relief Association which works in close cooperation with (but is formally independent of) the Eritrean People's Liberation Front. The EPLF is the only one of the rival Eritrean military organisations that counts inside "liberated" territory,

and, controlling all aspects of life here, it is the government in all but name.

Hawashit now has some 6,000 inhabitants. They squat in huts of plaited palm leaves. Mainly nomadic herdsmen from the lowlands, some, especially the children, are gaunt and skeletal. Others can be said, by the prevailing standards, to be in quite good shape, perhaps because they have come from very nearby, or because they were "rich" owners of a few hundred goats or sheep which they could eat or sell off—for a pittance of course—and thereby delay the day of total destruction.

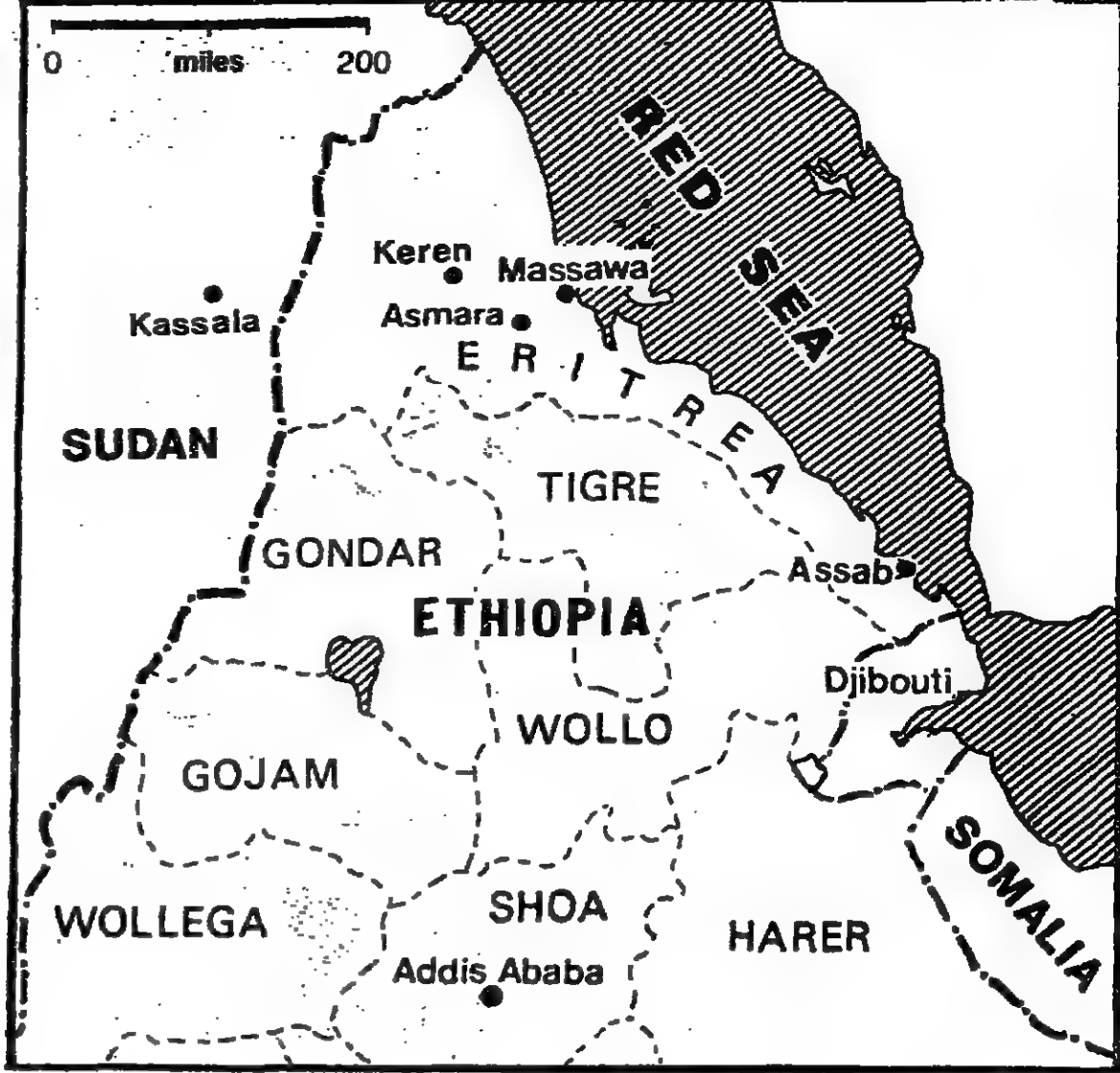
Ultimately, the famine has caught up with rich and poor alike. According to ERA estimates, in one district of Baraka, the biggest and most fertile province in the country, 40 per cent of the goats and sheep, 57 per cent of the cattle and 32 per cent of the camels had died by the end of 1984.

Newcomers are still arriving at Hawashit, anything up to 50 a day, but at a diminishing rate. Wahaj Othman said that it had taken him and his party of three families a month to cover a distance which they would normally have managed in five days. One mother and two children had died on the way, and it looked as though a third, an eight-year-old girl, too feeble to brush off the flies nesting round her eyes, would soon follow them—her emaciated infant brother pawed distractedly at an empty food bowl.

Hawashit has, as its focal point, the food distribution centre, just a pile of sacks under a clump of acacia trees. These come from a multitude of places, bearing such relevant and irrelevant labels as "Donated to the Eritrean Relief Association, gift of Australia," or "Scottish basic seed potatoes." At eight in the morning, the inhabitants begin to queue, section by section, to receive a 20-day ration.

Standing in the trough formed by a circle of full sacks, ERA officials measure out the amount of grain—500 grams per person per day—to which each family is entitled. That is all they get. A meagre stock of milk powder is reserved only for the most needy children. "ERA headquarters promise us better days ahead," said the camp supervisor.

Hawashit has its newly established "clinic," staffed by two "barefoot doctors" with basic medical training, but there seem to be almost no medicines and no instruments. The nearest hospital is four hours away by camel.



work round the clock in foodstuffs buried in the bush. Supplies destined for Southern pockets of "liberated" territory are taken by camel through enemy lines then re-loaded on to vehicles on the other side.

ERA's second task is to enable as many people as possible through an emergency programme of agricultural development, to contribute to their own livelihood. Most urgently, it aims to convert the destitute nomadic herdsmen into farmers. Their lowland habitat is potentially fertile—given water. It all depends on the sinking of wells and the controlling of flash floods, which occur even in times of drought. ERA hopes to have cleared land, built dykes and distributed seeds and implements in time for the May sowing season.

But ERA cannot feed the Eritreans, or help them feed themselves, without outside aid. This can only come from non-governmental agencies. The United Nations is terrified of violating Ethiopia's national sovereignty. "If we send them a written appeal," said Paulus Giorgis, "they don't even reply. It is a waste of time. For them we don't exist."

This year ERA's aid request has so far won a much more promising response than previously. It has asked for 135,000 tons of grain and 22,500 tons of other items—lentils, oil, milk powder and sugar. And, of these, 35,000 tons and 8,000 tons respectively have been pledged. That is enough to last until May.

Some of this aid does originate with governments: lesser donors, such as the Scandinavians, have long been channelling it through private organisations. But in what is perhaps the most important breakthrough US aid has begun sending grain to Eritrea through the Lutheran World Relief.

Aid or no aid, one thing is clear: the EPLF will not give up the armed struggle. The famine is a drain on its military capacities, but not, apparently, a very serious one. After 23 years of continuous warfare, few Eritreans would permit it to become one, if they can possibly help it.

In the eyes, the root cause of all their misfortunes is the tyranny of the regime, and the only solution is independence. "We shall eat dirt until all our country is free," said an old woman in the recently reconquered town of Tsele-Hai. At the front lines, the fighting men and women are increasingly confident of ultimate victory.



Once the architects' dreams, now the estates are decaying Pictures by Don McPhee

JEAN STEAD, in the first of two reports from Glasgow, examines the dramatic state of inner city council housing

The chill factor in a city warming for a fight

TAP THE wallpaper of a Glasgow council flat at this time of the year and you may hear behind it a soft, crumbling noise. It is the sound of small lumps of ice falling to the floor. The damp which is rapidly killing off Glasgow's stock of 176,000 council houses—the largest in Western Europe—has frozen solid.

A temperature of -20C and lower is normal in a Scottish winter. Last year was the worst weather Scotland had experienced for a decade. For six weeks the gales and snow blizzards raged. But in spite of plans from Scottish Ministers—the majority of them Labour—the country received no special financial help to cope with the deaths and disasters wrought by the weather.

The normal Scots resentment of England reached proportions of paranoia in January because of the over-dramatisation of the snow crisis in the south. They watched with scornful disbelief on television as weather stories which did not merit a item on a local news bulletin were headline TV news from London. The news that East Angles was to receive special aid brought scornful comments about the crisis in the south: "from the Scottish National Party MP, Mr. Gordon Wilson, who has had all-party support for his Cold Climate Allowance Bill which has been revived after the Scottish Government gave special help in the south."

The cold is directly related to the near-bankruptcy of Glasgow. Houses are 30 per cent more expensive to heat than in London and Bristol tenants cannot afford to heat their properties because of the high cost of electricity and their own increasing unemployment (DISS). The heating allowances are small and related only to times when temperatures go above average for the area. Consequently, the tower blocks and the outlying estates are literally falling apart through damp.

Glasgow pioneered public housing after private landlords stopped building tenements for the workers—and the tenements themselves had become the worst slums in the west. The slum clearance schemes reached their peak in the Fifties and Sixties, when the Gorbals was razed and tower blocks built. Now, as Glasgow runs out of funds, history looks like repeating itself.

Tenants cannot heat their homes because architects installed expensive underfloor electric heating systems. Now the council cannot afford to carry out repairs. Leaking roofs compound the disaster. On estates where half the tenants are out of work, they heat one room for a few hours at a time with a one-bar electric fire. So, with the growth of unemployment has come the spread of dampness and the growth of mushroom rooms on the bathroom floor. A night in an icy bedroom on a Glasgow housing estate—big rooms, built for a hopeful future—is one to remember, giving point to the rising figure of hypothermia, with attendant heart at-

tacks and strokes. Glaswegians according to a Glasgow Health Board survey face a higher risk of death before 65, 50 per cent higher than in England, and higher than Scotland as a whole. It has the highest early death rate in the western world.

This is why Glasgow district councillors are girding themselves to defy the Scottish instructions to put up their council rents by 23 per cent. Faced by rent strikes and tenants in outright rebellion against homes no longer wind or watertight, they are facing the prospect of being personally penalised for "going illegal." But they say they have little choice.

Yet nowhere else in the country has an authority in recent years accommodated itself more to its financial shortages. The council's weight has been put behind housing associations, which have boomed; there have been huge schemes for renovation and rehabilitation of inner city properties; and last year there was more council money scheduled for helping the private sector than the public.

Yet a refusal to raise rents will scarcely mollify tenants who have to suffer leaking roofs and rotten floors. To some tenants there is little discernible difference between their local councillor and Mrs Thatcher, or between George Sg and Westminster.

They all appear to constitute one inhuman, omnipotent force. But the housing committee chairman, Mr James McLean, is on their side. He told a visiting delegation from the Duke of Edinburgh's national enquiry team: "If we don't get further funds we shall be slum landlords in five years." It was his response to a pat on the back from the committee, who called Glasgow a "market leader" in terms of trying out all the new ways possible to deal with their problems, in a way they described as "exciting and encouraging."

It is both these things, but it is too late? Glasgow's progressive Housing Director, Paul Mugnaioli, proud though he is of imaginative inner city rehabilitation, is as gloomy about the failure of the Scottish Office to grasp the problem of such a vast housing stock in decay.

The finances are being heavily cut back this year. The Secretary of State Mr George Younger, estimated that £5 million could overcome Glasgow's housing problem, and told them to budget accordingly. In fact, that would do nothing to change the weather or the heating bills and the £5 million estimate is described by Mr Mugnaioli as nonsense.

"The situation is now so serious that our housing stock is actually starting to fall down," he says. "We need £80 million just to keep our houses wind and watertight this year, but the Government allocation is only £56 million. And that's ignoring any attempt at sheltered housing for the elderly or conversions. The housing support grant is half what it was in 1981 and our loan interest charges are over £30 million a year. The rates

contribution is dropping £37 million last year to £26.6 million. It is a real disaster, a crisis. If things are allowed to go on like this, we'll be back into the kind of slum clearance programmes of the Fifties and Sixties. Only this time we will be knocking down council houses, and tower blocks at that."

And all this is happening, Mr Mugnaioli points out, at a time when the council is breaking through into better and more sensitive management. Participating with the private sector, it is trying to do things on a smaller, more sensible scale.

"It shows a ludicrous lack of policy. No self-respecting business person would ever consider this approach to a product, putting up the price while they let it run down in quality. The Government decides how much we are allowed to borrow, and the Government decides our needs, but we don't know how they come to those decisions. The system is a sham. The tenants are blaming the council and the Government is clever, letting them take the blame and saying it is all up to them how they spend the money."

With Professor Tom Marcus, leading a programme of research at Strathclyde University into the problem of dampness and measuring heating needs, Mr Mugnaioli confirms that the real problem arises because people can no longer afford to heat their homes, made vastly more spacious to compensate for their former overcrowded slum dwellings. "You can talk your way round it, put

PUERTO LIMON: SUNDAY
Jonathan Steele, in a despatch from Costa Rica's Atlantic port finds an American battleship keeping an eye on Nicaragua

Side effects

ARMED with 32 nuclear-capable Tomahawk cruise missiles, the US Navy's largest battleship, the USS Iowa, lay at anchor off the Costa Rican port yesterday. Neutral Costa Rica is not the same as Anzus New Zealand, and the fact that the United States navy refused to discuss whether the ship carried nuclear weapons—in line with the standard policy of non-disclosure—did not worry the government here.

This was a goodwill visit, only the latest in a series of roughly six-monthly portcalls by American warships. This time though, the ship was the biggest ever to enter Costa Rican waters. Besides its cruise missiles, it has nine 16-inch guns. The heaviest artillery pieces in the world. Its sister-ship the USS New Jersey used them to pound the hillsides above Puerto Limon last year, and the Iowa, if it so chose, could send the same message to Nicaragua.

The Reagan administration took the Iowa out of moth-baited April, along with two other massive battleships which were originally built in the Second World War. Their new anti-missile defence systems make them much more "survivable" to today's conditions, one of the ship's weapons officers explained, "and we need the extra fire-power."

Sadly for the small US Embassy welcoming party, the Iowa turned out to be too large for Puerto Limon, and on the first day of what was meant to be a three-day visit, the captain decided the sea-swell was too heavy for the giant ship to risk coming alongside.

But yesterday it was the turn for the VIPs: the American Ambassador, Curtin Winsor, and the Costa Rican vice-president, Armando Arazu. Mr Winsor, a hardline Reaganite whose previous job was running a coalmine in West Virginia, is leaving the country shortly, and the visit to the battleship Iowa was one of his last official engagements. For many Costa Ricans it was a stinging climax to what has been one of the most unpopular tours of duty of any recent ambassadors.

He has been there little more than a year and a half, and Costa Rican officials make it clear privately that the government here asked for his term to be shortened. Mr Winsor has barely concealed his distaste for Costa Rica's neutrality and last week he riled even Conservative politicians here by announcing that he had been to Panama to discuss with General Paul Gorman, the

commander of US forces in Latin America, the possibility of having American companies set up weapons assembly plants in Costa Rica. American arms manufacturers were already subcontracting much of their production to South Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, and the same sort of arrangement would provide jobs for Costa Ricans, he said.

Oscar Aguilar, a deputy from the rightwing Unity Party, pointed out in outrage that the Americans said they were worried about the traffic in arms in Central America. "But to put in an assembly plant for an industry that is one of the most despicable in the world is totally contrary to our pacifist attitude," he argued.

A minister described Mr Winsor's departure as a case of "Samson" pulling the temple down. His tenure here has been marked as well as a constant stream of pressures on Costa Rica, many of which the Government of President Luis Alberto Monge, has managed to resist.

Armando Vargas, the Minister of Information, listed some of them. Costa Rica had rejected an invitation for its port to be used as an American military school in Honduras, where Salvadoran and Honduran army troops are trained. It had declined to join US in military exercises in Central America. It had not agreed to become an observer to Condeca, the regional defence pact, which included Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador as well as the United States. It had turned down offers for the US Corps of Engineers to build roads close to the Nicaraguan border.

Costa Rica has had no army since 1948 and four months after Mr Winsor arrived here President Monge declared that Costa Rica was adopting a policy of perpetual neutrality. The policy was supported at the time by 38 of the country's 57 parliamentary deputies. Mr Monge hoped to enshrine neutrality in the constitution by passing an amendment.

It is hard to measure accurately the balance sheet of Costa Rica's courageous effort to maintain neutrality over the last year and a half. Some would say it has resisted the more formal threats while giving way on the practical issues that matter. But at least Mr Monge tried to thwart him, and sometimes did.

NOT EVEN Jonathan Swift could have imagined so savage a satire on human endeavour as Star Wars.

SDI (Strategic Defense Initiative) proposes that in some 25 years, after expending some hundreds of billions of dollars, the United States technology will emerge with an impermeable anti-ballistic shield.

When President Reagan first unveiled Star Wars in March 1983, he suggested, in a rhetorical aside, that at this point the USA will generously reveal all its technology to the USSR, so that they can have an impermeable shield too. However, it is not yet certain that Reagan will still be President in the year 2010. He could, no doubt, circumvent the US Constitution, but he might have more difficulty in circumventing his own.

It was generally assumed that Reagan's aside was facetious, and the defence experts threw themselves about. As Theodore Draper remarks (New York Review of Books, February 14): "It would be necessary to blow up the Pentagon to make its guardians give away such a priceless military treasure."

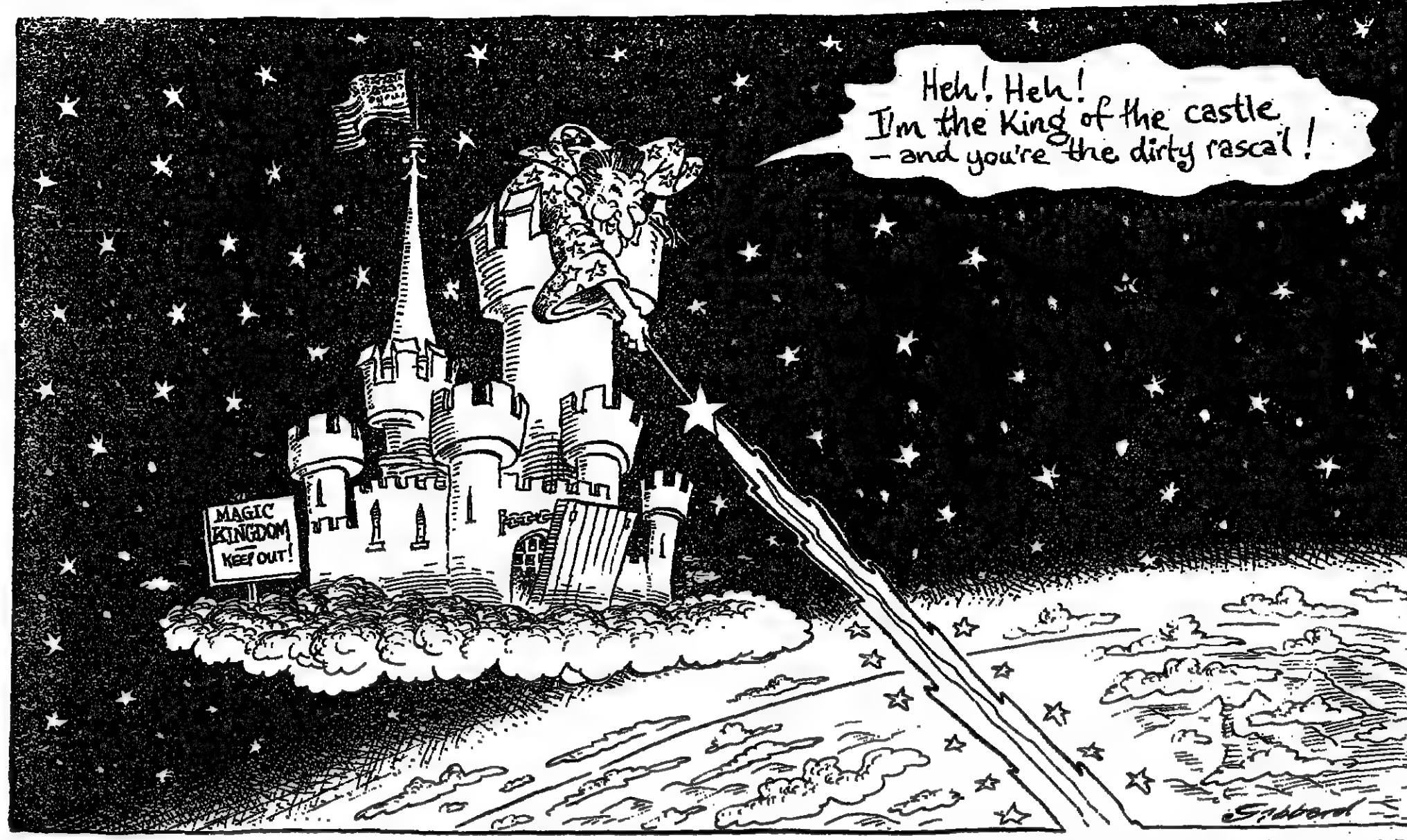
It is solemnly proposed, and reaffirmed in the President's inaugural, that, at astronomical cost, an agreement will be set in motion to achieve an end — the blocking of each others' missiles — which could be achieved tomorrow, at no cost at all, by a mutual agreement by both parties to disarm. The proposal belongs to the psychopathology of ideology and not to rational strategy at all. But before we come to that, let us inspect its purported rationality.

The view of independent scientists — that is, of scientists who are not in Pentagon-related employment and who do not stand to gain from the research bonanza — is that the project could not work. In a letter to the Wall Street Journal (January 2) Hans A. Bethe and five eminent American scientists summed up major objections under several headings. Underlying: getting under the shield by using cruise missiles, low altitude flights, "satellites" etc. Overwhelming: saturation of the defences with multiple attacks. A proportion of which would get through. Even 5 per cent of 10,000 missiles would be enough.

There is also outfoxing: while one side was building a Star Wars system the other side would have ample time to work out a contra-system of decoys and penetration aids. Cost: up to one trillion dollars for implementing the first major phase only. Soviet pre-emption: the Soviet military (or whoever has been nominated as "enemy" in 2009) would perceive such a shield as giving to the United States immunity to launch a strike, and would be tempted to "retaliate first."

These objections are made on the assumption that Star Wars might be feasible. So far as I can understand — Professor John Polanyi gives a clear beginner's guide in Gwyn Pryn's *The Choice* — anti-satellite weapons are certainly feasible (and until recently the Soviet Union may have led in this field). Weapons orbiting in space are a gruesome possibility; and defences against ballistic missiles might prove to be feasible (leaving of course the underlying, overwhelming, and outfoxing gaps in the shield).

But long before the hypothetical semi-impermeable shield was in place, the project would fall through in intermediate stages. As Fred Ikle, a US Under Secretary for Defense, remarked at a secret session of the Senate Armed Services Committee last year: "As you move towards deployment of the full system, there are some intermediate steps which have intermediate utility... Components of a multi-tiered



The ideological delirium which strikes chords in the worst traditions of American populism

E. P. THOMPSON

defense could become deployed earlier." (Wayne Bidle in New York Times, December 30, 1984).

These "components" relate to what is known in the jargon as "point-defence." Point-defence means a collaboration of highly-developed radar, infrared sensors, intercepter missiles etc. which would say incoming ICBMs. A US Defense Department pamphlet (April 1984) predicted that such point-defence might be available between 1990 and 2000.

That is a great relief. We are all in favour of defence. But what is the point of point-defence? And which points will it defend? Well — really sensitive targets, of course: the missile silos at Grand Forks, North Dakota, and the arcana of State security and CB. Clites? People? You're joking!

Point-defence might cover selected areas of 30 miles in radius. So that for some years before the good folk of Middle America can sleep soundly in their beds in the knowledge that they are protected by an impermeable shield they will go through a period of "intermediate utility" in which their missiles are protected but they are not.

Never mind. As the Times remarked (February 7) at the end of a puzzled and

fortuitous leader: "Even a partial defence must be better than no defence." Amen, says commonsense. Why then did the superpowers achieve one of their rare agreements, with the ABM Treaty in 1972, which very severely limited any such defence — to two systems on each side? This was perhaps because such defences at that time were impracticable. But the officially-publicised reason for this upside-down logic (defences are threatening but missiles give "security") was that ABM defences are de-stabilising. They strike at the very heart of deterrence theory: the assurance of mutual threat.

A great many Nato warriors and media wizards have been assuring us for years that deterrence theory has exploded. Deterrence theory is biblical authority. Mr Heseltine has told us that it is the only thing that, for the past 30 years, has held up the sky. Whatever else that war has exposed it has exploded deterrence theory. Several distinguished professors are having to rewrite their undergraduate class lectures, which is an insufferable indignity.

Now the Times assures us, in the same leader, that the campaign against SDI is "Soviet inspired." That is strange, because the first sign of that "campaign" —

when Reagan first unveiled Star Wars — was hilarity in the American scientific community. That could not have been orchestrated by the KGB, because the KGB have never been known to laugh.

The Soviet military, however, have got a point in not finding Star Wars funny. They have been pushing ahead with their own space experiments. But a massive arms race in space is something their stretched economy does not need.

More than this, the "intermediate utility" stations of point-defence will disadvantage the USSR and advantage the USA. Soviet land-based ICBMs have got some 30 minutes to travel before they reach the United States. This gives time for satellite and radar identification and for X-ray lasers and interceptors to get to work. But US forward-based missiles in Europe, such as the Pershing 15, must travel for only a few minutes. Thus point-defence is simpler for the USA than for the USSR.

The reaction of the satellite Nato governments in Europe to Star Wars fell short of gratitude. At first sight, and at second sight, it seemed a bum deal. They suspected a retreat to Fort-Les-Ameriques. If America alone had a shield, they

feared that the Soviet Union, since it could not retaliate against the USA, would take it out on her allies. Or that Europe would be left as a no-man's land between two shields, with the laser-zapped nukes of both sides falling on our heads.

Moreover, as the Guardian has asked (February 5), if both superpowers are protected by "domes," "What thereafter becomes of the British and French nuclear deterrents?"

The answers (which the Guardian unaccountably overlooked) is that we could point them across the Channel and use them to deter each other. But all those lovely nukes, including Hades and Trident, would cease overnight to be deterrents to the USSR and would become only irritants. This irritated Mrs Thatcher so much that, with unconscious legerity, she allowed herself, when in company with Mr Gorbachev, last December, to express disquiet at an arms race in space.

I am now at liberty to reveal the sequel to this petty treason. Mrs Thatcher then flew on to Peking and thence took off for a breakfast date with Mr Reagan. While she was still over the western Pacific, President Reagan, who had been informed of her impertinence, called her plane and Mrs Thatcher must get her breakfast at MacDonalds. Mrs Thatcher ate her words, first in public on the plane, and then in private with the President. She then served up to her like sausages on a waffle with maple syrup.

In return for her renewed fealty, President Reagan issued to all his European allies a very large public waffle, to the effect that the impermeable shield which had now become a dome and even an umbrella) was going to be extended to them also. This nonsensical promise was not worth the spit that issued with it, but the loyal servants are to be employed hovering around happily in the spillover.

It might be possible to deploy point-defence at Greenham Common and at

Molesworth by the year 2000. Mr Heseltine could then run happily up and down canals, flagging in his flag jacket at the head of thousands of troops and riot police chasing the last Quaker in the secure knowledge that he was under an umbrella. But if he were to return to London to pursue his other vocation, of harassing honourable civil servants, then, alas, he must do this outside the "dome."

Even so, there would be a small political cost which Mr Reagan will have to charge for his waffle. Two authors (Herman and Rose) in *Arms Control Today* (July/August 1984) have pointed out that while intercepter systems against intermediate-range missiles (such as SS-20s) might be feasible in Europe, the interceptors "would have as little as three to ten minutes to detect, identify, track, target and attack incoming warheads."

This would require "an automated and automatic US-ABM response," such as LOW (launch-on-warning). There will be no time to work through NATO's established consultative channels. European political authorities thus will be effectively removed from any active role in decisions concerning nuclear war on their own soil. The "dome" turns out to be an automated system for the extinction of European autonomy.

All this has been about "intermediate utilities": not the "impermeable shield" (which we cannot get) but the bits of space and intercepter race which are feasible and which we may well get. It can be seen that they introduce fearsome new dangers, instabilities and tensions. The fact that the Soviet military are already tensing up against Star Wars is not, as the Times supposes, an argument in its favour. It enhances the dangers.

But I explained before that Reagan's policy belongs not to rational strategy but to the psychopathology of ideology. How is this?

The projected "impermeable shield" is not possible. And the proposal that its secrets should be handed to

the other side is absurd. But when a palpable insanity grips national leaders it is necessary to probe the motives further. Nations do not normally lay heavy burdens on their tax-payers and inflate the national debt just to humour the fantasies of a leader, even one just born-again out of the ballot box.

There must either be some hidden agenda or some ideological delirium here. In this case I detect both. The hidden agenda is in two forms. First, the proposal has been pushed by those whom Lord Zuckerman has called "the alchemists of the laboratories" and the very powerful arms lobby whose lips are drooling with the prospects of an enlarging order books 20 and 30 years ahead.

As Hans Bethe and his fellow-scientists say in the *Wall Street Journal*, such a project will acquire "institutional momentum." "When a trillion dollars is waved at the US aerospace industry, the project will rapidly acquire a life of its own — independent of the validity of its public justifications." It is already becoming a major interest and focus for pressure groups, a juggernaut that will roll on.

But even this powerful lobby, which is not yet a majority shareholder in the US economy, could not sell to the Pentagon a package of rubbish whose costs competed with the more credible demands of the armed services. The real-bits of Star Wars, which the Pentagon wants, are the "intermediate utilities," such as point-defence for their silos and missile bases, and the elaboration of stations and weapons in space which might give new purchase for clear superiority. The talk of an "impermeable shield" has been strictly cosmetic: a PR operation only.

Yet the project also has an independent life within American ideology. The Times, in its tormented leader, acclaims President Reagan as a profound strategist, more far-sighted than his Chiefs of Staff, more wise than his "East Coast establishment" with its "fashionable dissent," and more

informed than his own scientific community. This is codswallop. The President is no kind of strategist and could not tell an ICBM from an ABM. What he is is a superbly successful populist politician who can tune a policy like a precision-missile and home it on to the prejudices of Middle America.

In its ideological expression Star Wars is the ultimate decomposition of deterrence theory, and the attempt by US nuclear ideologists to return to the womb of Hiroshima. Ever since the USSR reached forward to nuclear "parity" they have become increasingly fretful. They possessed this huge bludgeoning and blackmailing power — which, however, could never be used, and the world was beginning to tumble to the fact.

For a decade they have been trying out this and that trick to regain nuclear "superiority," but all were implausible. Then they tried out scenarios of "limited" nuclear war, on the territory of allies or other nations, and these have proved equally implausible also, and have even been met with indignation.

Delving back in their memories, President Reagan and his friends recalled those blissful years, from 1945-50, when the United States had the Bomb and the Other did not. It is out of that frustration, and that remembered golden sanctuary of the past, that the ideological and political drive of Star Wars has come. Let us abolish the Bomb! Let us arm the moral ends of America with an impermeable shield! Let us, once again, be able to threaten a world which cannot retaliate on us! Our solution was and is one of pure ideology; then money and know-how must be able to bring it about.

It is an ideological delirium which vibrates all the chords of the worst traditions of American right-wing populism. With astonishing simplicity it combines the most basic (they can't get us) with external menace. It combines the citizen's faith that whatever America does must be moral — and that the Bomb is God's gift to protect the "Free World" — with the old American common person's preference for "fixing things" by technological means rather than by political resolutions. It massages the American ego by intoning homilies about "saving humanity" and about "saving millions of lives" while drawing humanity within new dimensions of danger.

We should not dismiss this as mere politician-talk, as cynical rhetoric, to cover more limited objectives. Star Wars, with its space-fie glitter, encodes ideological forces which act in their own right. The President may himself be a true believer.

To find the most powerful nation on earth to be crawling back into an ideological epoch is coming, and it is a terrifying signal of our human predicament. This combination of material avarice (the arms lobby) and of ideological self-delusion may produce the terminal dementia of the nuclear age.

There will never be an impermeable shield against nuclear evil. There is — and there has been for forty years — only one shield against chaos: that pitifully weak and yet somehow indestructible shield of human conscience. It is full of holes as a sieve, but it has held out chaos for forty years. It is time to put it in repair.

E. P. Thompson is a vice-president of CND. Martin Press is publishing next a collection of his essays, *The Heavly Dancers*, and also a "samizdat" reply to crisis of the peace movement, *Double Exposure*.

When the law adds insult to injury



OUT OF COURT

Michael Zander

A FEW years ago Michael Joseph, himself a solicitor, infuriated the legal profession with his book *The Conveyancing Fraud*, which has sold more than 50,000 copies. His forthcoming book, *Lawyers Can Scrounge Your Health* (£3.95, from 27 Occupation Lane, London SE18), is likely to arouse an equally strong reaction. His target this time is the way that solicitors and barristers handle personal injury litigations.

He accuses both branches of the legal profession of gross incompetence. His method is to take three ac-

tual fairly typical accidents and to trace the fate of the three victims in the hands of their lawyers.

Mr Jenkins was injured whilst operating a machine in a factory. His first two firms of solicitors failed to inspect the machine and the third firm took 16 months before getting round to an inspection — by which time it emerged that the machine had (conveniently) been damaged when a crane dropped a heavy object on to it. It was, therefore, impossible to prove that the machine was in a defective condition at the time of the accident. Mr Jenkins lost his case.

Peter, aged eight, lost his eye in a school playground accident. Jan, another eight-year-old, poked him in the eye with a broken car aerial a foot long. The solicitor failed to inspect the playground and, at first, did not get the statements of a number of boys who had seen the accident. When he eventually did get the statements, at the mother's suggestion, it emerged that just before the accident Jan had been running around flicking mud with the aerial at other children — which could and should have been seen and stopped by a reasonably vigilant playground supervisor. The solicitors failed to appreciate the importance of this evidence and did not even send the statements to the QC whom they instructed.

The QC said that there

were no prospects of success in an action against the education authority and eventually, after much protest, Peter's parents were pressured by their lawyers into accepting a paltry £1,000 for their boy's lost eye.

Tessa, the third example, was also 8 when she suffered permanent brain damage after being struck by a van when starting to cross the road. Successive lawyers failed to see the importance of evidence of negligence by the van driver in the police reports and failed to investigate the case properly. They strongly advised acceptance of the insurer's first offer of a £1,000 and later of £5,000. In the end, after a 4-day trial, the judge awarded Tessa £40,000. The decision, ultimately, turned on questions put to a witness by the judge himself.

Although none of the three cases involved any complex issue of either fact or law each dragged on for many years. This is perfectly normal. The Royal Commission on Legal Services said that on average the lapse of time between accident and trial was four years.

No less than 11 firms of solicitors and 10 barristers were involved in these three cases. Mr Joseph's vivid blow by blow commentary on the progress of the claims suggest that almost without exception they were incompetent (or worse). They generated mountains of paper but most of it proved

useless in advancing the claim. Crucial and obvious steps in the investigation of the facts were repeatedly overlooked. Issues were misunderstood and muddled.

Most of the actual work was done not by the solicitor himself but by an untrained or semi-trained clerk, who at every turn sought the advice and guidance of a barrister.

A barrister's advice is only as good as his instructions, and, in these cases these were inadequate or incomplete (as well as being concealed from the client).

To add insult to injury, no action for negligence can normally be brought against lawyers in such cases since both barristers and solicitors have immunity from suit for negligence in the course of litigation or the preparation of litigation.

Mr Joseph suggests that a reasonably competent investigator with a camera and no sense of his own self-importance could have collected the evidence in such cases in two or three days which, he took the lawyers two or three years to assemble. He paints a picture of "a team of lawyers shunting the papers backwards and forwards one to another, with their windy instructions and counter-instructions and their formalistic nonsense under which, as like as not, the crucial issue of the case will be forever buried."

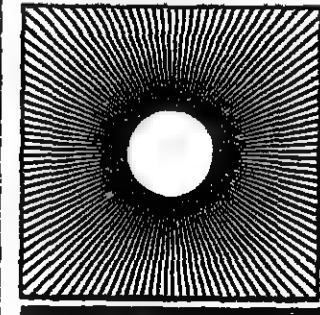
The Lord Chancellor has just announced a major in-

quiry into civil justice, the first part of which is to inquire into personal injury litigation. Management consultants are to be employed at the outset for a three to four-month fact-finding exercise.

It is a safe bet that they will not be looking at the problems identified by Mr Joseph that would involve the embarrassment of considering the quality of work done by lawyers — but at the much less sensitive question of court delays and court processes. Since only three per cent of cases end in court, a detailed study of how lawyers actually handle cases might be a good deal more productive.

AT THE Court of Appeal on February 8, Mr Miles — the superintendent registrar mentioned in *Out of Court* last week — won his case against Wakefield Council for deducting pay while he was taking industrial action short of strike action.

During a 17-month dispute, superintendent registrars represented by Nalga refused to conduct weddings on Saturdays. The council had deducted three thirty-sevenths of Mr Miles' pay on the basis that his 37-hour week normally included three hours work on Saturday morning. Mr Miles had appealed against a High Court decision which held that the deduction was a "fair measure in financial terms."



FACE TO FAITH

John Pearman

ACCORDING to articulate professional interest-groups there is too much religion in schools and what there is, is the wrong sort. It's time, they say, to amend the religious clauses of the 1944 Education Act. More notice must be taken of faiths other than Christianity.

One reason for this sustained attack on school religion is the whimsical ineptitude of many Anglican parochial clergy. Their privileged access to many schools has given school religion a bad name. It presents the appearance of being in the pocket of an anachronistic clique of professional church-mongers.

It is not always the priests' fault. Their training as priests equips them in no competent way to cope with the complexities of school law, administration or philosophy. On arrival in their parishes they find themselves

with ex officio responsibilities and powers of communication with local schools, but without the training or resources to discharge their duties effectively.

Another problem is the naked racism of many Anglican clergy. One candidate for a recent church school headmastership on London, noted at his interview that a significant proportion of the school's roll was non-Christian. He asked the Reverend Chairman of Governors what the school's religious policy was towards these ethnic minority children was. "We educate the little beasts," came the reply.

Other priests are less liberal: they exclude non-Christian children from their schools entirely, operating an admissions policy which is discriminatory with regard to race, creed and colour.

Our Church of England clerics must face the fact that it is 1855 and we no longer live in Barchester. Today education, among many other important things, involves helping youngsters to cope with the environment in which they live. In a pluralistic setting that means helping them to cope with belief systems other than their own.

My own school, although Anglican by foundation, has only 25 per cent of its roll even nominally Church of England and less than half of the pupils are Christian. Five per cent are Jewish, Hindu, Buddhist or Sikh. Christian courtesy demands that this plurality of faith should be recognised and affirmed in the religious domain of the school's life.

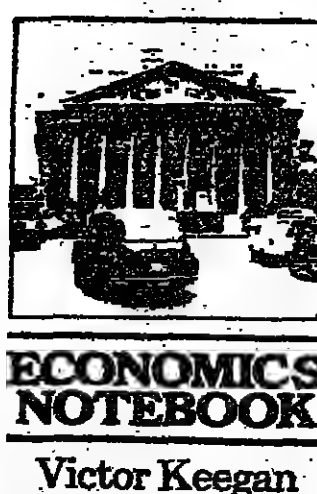
To assert by word or deed an attitude the primacy of any one religion over any other in school is at best imperialism and at worst spiritual arrogance. Each religion is a journey of exploration and of discovery: each is a way of seeking truth, each is a pointer on the road to God; each is a different way of describing God's initiatives in saving Man from himself.

Even within the confines of an Anglican vicarage we can never know with dogmatic exactitude in what voice God will speak. A preparedness to teach other faiths alongside Christianity in our schools is an important expression of Christian humility. It is right to recognise that while St George is fine for some, St Bhadravale may be more helpful for others. And we need to encourage our pupils to seek out the "Argentinian" and "Bosnian" and just as fluently as he speaks cloister-English.

Our priests must not be afraid of facing the real tasks of modern schooling: we are engaged in training youngsters to be citizens of that wider world which lies beyond the parish boundaries. School children should be encouraged to learn about that world in every aspect of its life: not only its geography and history, material progress, but also its major belief systems. And it is right that we would seek to be objective and balanced in our teaching approach to all of these.

John Pearman is an Anglican layman and headmaster of a church secondary school in North London.

FINANCIAL GUARDIAN



Victor Keegan

WE HAVE heard a lot recently about unproductive pits; rather less about un-

productive farms. Yet the subsidies and protection attached to farming makes the coal industry look positively competitive by comparison. Agriculture currently receives just over £2 billion a year, directly from the Treasury (according to last month's spending white paper). In addition there is a "protective" tariff which sometimes reaches 100 per cent to keep out imports of certain goods. This, in turn, pays almost no rates, VAT, or mainstream corporation taxes, and the government agrees to buy all the produce the industry can export abroad at a price well above market rates. If this formula were applied to the coal industry, the nearest pit in the land would be producing a monstrous profit to delight the accountants. All of which makes it puzz-

ling as to why the annual meeting of the National Farmers' Union last week voted for a motion accusing the Agriculture Minister of "gross dereliction of his duty" to farmers. Sir Richard Butler, president of the NFU, accused the government of being ineffective in Europe and inept at administration at home. What on earth has happened to make Sir Richard bite back at the hand that is feeding him? It might simply be that farmers see the writing on the barn wall: their historic affinity with the Conservative Party has been fractured by the rising cloud (and bigger numbers) of the farming conservationists. The NFU is demised because, as it rightly points out, the post-war achievements of British agriculture are in no small way due to the "uniquely successful relationship" between the government and the NFU; a relationship, one might add, which has been applied to manufacturing industry. The Prime Minister has now prepared for the final assault on the miners when a numerical "majority" is back at work. Whether this takes the form of a "magnanimous" victory or a "hard-headed" solution (remember he fired all the non-working air traffic controllers) remains to be seen. The fact is that not only has

There is, in fact, a far stronger economic case to remove subsidies from farming than from coal. That it has not happened can only be ascribed to the traditional British cultural superiority afforded to agriculture over industry. I have yet to meet a farmer who has a good word to say about the miners, let alone one who was prepared even to conceive that agriculture was in receipt of far more taxpayer support than coal. The Prime Minister is now preparing for the final assault on the miners when a numerical "majority" is back at work. Whether this takes the form of a "magnanimous" victory or a "hard-headed" solution (remember he fired all the non-working air traffic controllers) remains to be seen. The fact is that not only has

no one "won" the miners' strike in any meaningful sense but the cost of not winning (at least £4 billion of taxpayers' money) is a tragic in terms of what could have been done with the money in pursuit of creating jobs for tomorrow. Ministers argue that the £4 billion was money well spent creating realism in dealing with the unions. All that has happened is that it has left smouldering resentment in pit-villages, miners against miners, and miners against government, which will plague the industry for decades. This will make the job of reconstruction a time when the underlying competitive position has improved (thanks to the weak pound) that much more difficult. Nor is there any noticeable effect on other groups of workers. Neither four mil-

lion unemployed nor the humiliation of the miners seems to have had much effect on the level of pay settlements. Earnings have never dropped below 7.25 per cent (above a year earlier) despite the unprecedented level of unemployment, and settlements are now starting to creep upwards in the private sector. Meanwhile, more coal faces will probably be closed as a result of the strike, through lack of safety maintenance, fires, and so on — than were at risk at the start of the strike. There may be one final irony. The end of the miners' strike, far from restoring faith in the value of the pound, may actually force it further towards parity with the dollar. This is because the electricity industry has emerged as the biggest single buyer of extra sup-

plies of oil in the world. When the strike ends and Britain ceases to be buying billions of pounds of oil, then other things being equal, the price of world oil should drop, thereby increasing the fears of international investors who see Britain increasingly as a one-product economy. The effect on sterling of an outbreak of peace could be quite dramatic. Meanwhile, back on the farm, the first signs of employer Scargillism are apparent. I have some advice. Be careful. A government which is so strangled for cash that it is planning to cut back drastically on rent, rate, heating and other rebates to the poor might just conceivably realise that there are other sources of economy nearer the farm gates. Tread softly for you read on their subsidies.

Calculations 'meaningless' in divided market

TUC rebuts Lawson's pay-jobs equation

By Christopher Mahne, Economics Editor

The Trades Union Congress is to rebut the Government's claims that workers have priced themselves out of jobs by arguing that such calculations are meaningless in an increasingly divided British labour market. Those groups which have suffered the sharp cut in wages have also endured the highest unemployment rates. In a paper which was approved by its economic committee last week and is to be presented to the March meeting of the National Economic Development Council, the TUC accuses the Government of deflecting attention from Britain's real economic problems. There are a "major shortfall in the public sector, a government policy, low investment and weaknesses in the banking system, and a level of expenditure on training which is only a fraction of Britain's competitors," it says. In detailing the recent claims by the Chancellor, Mr Lawson, the TUC emphasises that there has been considerable flexibility in the national labour market, with real wages — after allowing for inflation — of unskilled workers falling 9.9 per cent between 1979 and 1984. "Yet unemployment," the study says, "is still rising, not least for those groups who have suffered the sharpest drop in wages." By contrast, there has been a rise in real wages of 16 per cent for white collar workers since 1979. The TUC's NEDC paper will extend the lack of faith in the government's employment policies which is to be spelled out in a briefing paper issued today. In the paper, the TUC accuses Mr Lawson of misleading the country over his scope for action in next month's budget. "Until government ministers hit the panic button on sterling, they were engaged in a propaganda campaign to express their concern over unemployment and to pretend that the budget will be a 'Budget for Jobs'," the TUC claims. But the truth, the paper concludes, is that any tax cuts which the Chancellor would have contemplated would do nothing either to reduce unemployment, or to improve the living standards of the low paid. The TUC argues that there are real dangers in "creating a permanently divided labour market" between privileged workers with high skills and job security, and an increasingly casual group shut out from regular work and the chance of getting skills. The ill effects would include, the report says, inefficient overtime working among poor groups, the deliberate de-skilling of some work leading to low job commitment and morale, and a further fall-out in skill training as new entrants to the Government spend money. The trend in pay settlements, the TUC says, is a "major factor" in the formation of British industry reported yesterday, with average pay agreements in the final quarter of 1984 running at 6.25 per cent in the manufacturing sector and 6 per cent in the services industries. In the services industries, the TUC concludes, any tax cuts which the Chancellor would have contemplated would do nothing either to reduce unemployment, or to improve the living standards of the low paid. The TUC argues that there are real dangers in "creating a permanently divided labour market" between privileged workers with high skills and job security, and an increasingly casual group shut out from regular work and the chance of getting skills. The ill effects would include, the report says, inefficient overtime working among poor groups, the deliberate de-skilling of some work leading to low job commitment and morale, and a further fall-out in skill training as new entrants to the Government spend money. The trend in pay settlements, the TUC says, is a "major factor" in the formation of British industry reported yesterday, with average pay agreements in the final quarter of 1984 running at 6.25 per cent in the manufacturing sector and 6 per cent in the services industries. In the services industries, the TUC concludes, any tax cuts which the Chancellor would have contemplated would do nothing either to reduce unemployment, or to improve the living standards of the low paid.

World Bank acts on limits

Bank acts on limits

From Alex Brammer in Washington

The World Bank is proposing to lift its loan limits on countries deemed to be creditworthy, such as India, as part of a package of measures aimed at raising its level of loan commitments to the developing countries. The decision to seek ways of increasing loan commitments has been taken by the bank's executive directors at a special board meeting early this month called to discuss lagging loan commitments this year. The bank recently lowered its target for new loan commitments in 1984-85 by \$2 billion to \$11 billion after an unusually poor performance in making loans to the first six months of the year. The bank's executive directors reported that the committee's shortfall this year was due to difficulties in 10 of its major borrowing countries. Some, such as Nigeria, a big bank borrower in previous years, are no longer seen as creditworthy. Others, such as India and Brazil, are at or close to the informal bank 10 per cent limit on lending to any one country. A third group of countries, such as Thailand, have managed to borrow money elsewhere without the increasingly tough requirements for economic reform imposed by the bank. As a result of these difficulties bank officials are working on several proposals to step up the flow of loan commitments by the end of the year. It is expected that the bank will lift its 10 per cent credit limit in the case of such reliable borrowers as India who have a proven record of sound financial management. Given Brazil's current difficulties with the IMF it would almost certainly be excluded from this waiver for the time being. Another proposal being given serious attention is that the bank be prepared to finish off half-completed projects in developing countries which have been abandoned by economic austerity. One difficulty with this idea is that it would mean that the bank's directors would almost certainly have to waive traditional rules about competitive international bidding on projects in which the bank is involved. As a result of the bank's poor record of loan commitments this year it is expected that members of the World Bank's policy-making development committee will decide on any immediate decisions on a general capital increase.

Electrical firms heading for first trade deficit

for first trade deficit

By Maggie Brown

Britain's electrical and engineering manufacturing sector is expected to move into a trade deficit for the first time in the nation's history next year, according to a survey by both government and the industry itself. This is the gloomy prediction of an analysis of long-term trade trends of the last 20 years, drawn up by the British Electrotechnical and Allied Manufacturers Association. The 500 companies BEAMA represents have an annual output of £10 billion a year, of which more than one third is exported. For 1985, the most recent year available, BEAMA products, ranging from cables and power switchgear to electrical machinery and turbines, were worth £10 billion, of which £3.7 billion was exported. Imports were £3.05 billion, giving a surplus of £685 million, down from £1 billion in 1982. The sector is calling for a campaign to boost exports, which it says could grow by just 1.6 per cent a year. It questions whether the forecasts it gives of export growth by the sector, some 3.1 per cent a year compared with 4.3 per cent for the UK as a whole, will be rapid enough to retain the UK's present share of world trade in electrical and electronic goods. The association's director, general Mr Gordon Gaddes, says that internal BEAMA trends now point to a "very alarming" deterioration, with the cross-over point on the graph arriving in the financial year 1986/7. This would be three years after Britain's manufacturing sector as a whole moved into deficit for the first time. For 1983, the most recent year available, BEAMA products, ranging from cables and power switchgear to electrical machinery and turbines, were worth £10 billion, of which £3.7 billion was exported. Imports were £3.05 billion, giving a surplus of £685 million, down from £1 billion in 1982. The sector is calling for a campaign to boost exports, which it says could grow by just 1.6 per cent a year. It questions whether the forecasts it gives of export growth by the sector, some 3.1 per cent a year compared with 4.3 per cent for the UK as a whole, will be rapid enough to retain the UK's present share of world trade in electrical and electronic goods.

Bedford Trucks jobs saved

Trucks jobs saved

From a Correspondent

The jobs of about 170 workers at the Bedford Trucks tool and die plant in the town of Bedford have been saved with the announcement that the factory has been bought by the Camford Engineering Group. Bedford had announced last month that the factory, which employs 250 people, would be closed in May because it was uneconomical to retain its own die-casting process. The company has told union leaders at the plant that Camford will require 170 employees, and will guarantee pay and conditions to those workers who wish to remain at the plant. As part of the deal Bedford Commercial Vehicles has agreed to give work to the plant over a three-year period. Details of how much was paid have not yet been disclosed, and the agreement still needs to be approved by the Department of Trade and Industry.

ICI in US talks

US talks

By James Ertchman, Chemicals Correspondent

ICI has opened talks with the US firm Genentech, the biggest and most profitable biotechnology company in the world. Any deal would mark a breakthrough because the big British drug firms like ICI have stood on the sidelines while their international rivals have deflected collaboration with the new breed of genetic engineering companies. ICI refused to say at the weekend if it was making any commitment, but a spokesman for Genentech in San Francisco admitted that "preliminary discussions" between the two firms had taken place and were continuing. Genentech was the first of the new biotech firms to be founded in 1978, and it has retained its world lead in using genetic engineering techniques to mass produce the body's own hormones and defend which are seen as the wonder drugs of the future. ICI has opened talks with the US firm Genentech, the biggest and most profitable biotechnology company in the world. Any deal would mark a breakthrough because the big British drug firms like ICI have stood on the sidelines while their international rivals have deflected collaboration with the new breed of genetic engineering companies. ICI refused to say at the weekend if it was making any commitment, but a spokesman for Genentech in San Francisco admitted that "preliminary discussions" between the two firms had taken place and were continuing. Genentech was the first of the new biotech firms to be founded in 1978, and it has retained its world lead in using genetic engineering techniques to mass produce the body's own hormones and defend which are seen as the wonder drugs of the future.

Mexico overspends

and upsets IMF

From Peter Chapman in Mexico City

Reports here at the weekend that the IMF had been involved in an argument with Mexico, reportedly the fund's blue-eyed boy, have been cautiously discounted by foreign bankers and diplomats. But they did add that the reports may well indicate underlying tensions between the two sides. The Wall Street Journal reported that after a row over Mexico's IMF-imposed austerity programme, now in its third year, the Fund was stopping Mexico drawing \$1.2 billion of credits due to it last year. British, US and other foreign bankers put together a jumbo \$3.2 billion loan for Mexico and agreed to a major rescheduling of the country's \$90 billion foreign debt. Mexico at first dutifully applied the programme. As a result it won a loan from the Fund and the bankers and was presented as an example for all other major Third World debtors such as Argentina and Brazil, to follow. Since then, however, the Mexican government has considerably stretched its targets, and the IMF has been mainly because of mounting social pressure at home from a hard-pressed population and the government's increasing loss of support in elections in various areas of the country. Public spending overstepped agreed limits last year and has continued to do so again in 1985, thanks to large subsidies on such things as basic foods and transport. Inflation for January points to a possible 90 per cent rate for the year, up from 40 per cent in 1984, which was already more than the IMF wanted. Banking and diplomatic sources here say that a sharp move by the IMF like cutting credits is unlikely. As one banker put it, "The IMF, like any father, finds it difficult admitting its favourite son is a drug addict." But with Mexico now in its last year of direct supervision by the IMF, the international financial community is becoming increasingly wary of how far Mexico might push things.

Missing beans reveal quota flaws

COMMODITIES

Robin Stainer

MORE THAN five million bags of coffee — roughly equivalent to about one month's total exports — have gone missing, according to the International Coffee Organisation (ICO). The ICO shows that this coffee was exported, but there is no record of its having been imported. The mystery of the disappearing beans is the latest sign that all is not well with the ICO's export control system. It coincides with growing evidence of other irregularities and increasing disengagement among leading consuming countries about the way the ICO is operating. They think they are getting a raw deal and last week's ICO meeting in London as a good opportunity to air their grievances. The meeting was, however, originally called to discuss the control system whose efficient operation is essential to market stability. The 74-nation ICO, whose producing and consuming governments account for more than 80 per cent of world coffee, stabilises prices by regulating supply through a system of export quotas. The global quota is kept within a range of \$1.25-1.40 a pound. No control system can be perfect, as way round it will always be found if there is a chance of making money. The ICO's is no exception. However, for an organisation whose success depends on keeping a close check on the movement of all coffee, the "loss" of such a big volume is more than just worrying. It highlights shortcomings that, unless checked, could ultimately undermine the ICO as a price support tool. The bulk of the missing coffee — some three million bags, according to the ICO's investigations — was recorded as having been shipped out to importing countries that are not members of the ICO, like those in the Eastern bloc between November 1983 and last September. During this period, new regulations were in force designed to ensure that coffee exported to non-members reached its destination. They are clearly not working and leading producers, headed by Brazil, would like them tightened up. The moment, ICO producers that sell directly to non-members and cannot prove the coffee has reached its stated destination can be penalised by having their quota cut. The producers would also like indirect sales made through trans-shipment ports to be included. They are meeting opposition from some ICO consumers, whose cooperation would be essential to do this. Producer sources argue that this suggests that these consuming countries might have something to hide. There are suspicions that some of the non-members, often at half the price that members like the US and the EEC have to pay for their supplies under quota — may have been illegally diverted into member countries, therefore bypassing restrictions. The rest of the coffee that cannot be accounted for — about 2.5 million bags — was shipped to ICO consumers last year, but has not yet shown up in import returns. Brazil in particular is worried that this coffee could come on the market at any time and severely undermine prices. When added to the global export quota for the current 1984-85 international marketing year, the total involved brings the potential supply to ICO members to more than 62 million bags — at least four million more than the estimated demand. Producers would like the ICO's quota-adjustment mechanism modified so that it prices did fall away sharply the day a global export quota was introduced. They would like to see a quota cut in addition to those already provided for. Consumers have no enthusiasm at all for providing the market with a higher safety net. Their own grievances make them unsympathetic to the producers' worries on this score. Consumers have long been unhappy about the cut-price sales to non-members of the so-called parallel market, where ICO produces offload exportable production in excess of their quota entitlements. Such sales, which are growing, are only unfair, but run counter to the spirit of the international coffee price-stabilisation treaty, they say. Latin American producers last year announced that they would lift prices to non-members in stages to at least the floor of the ICO-protected range. Progress, however, has proved much slower than originally planned. The other main grievance of consumers is the failure of many producers to fulfil their quotas, which are an entitlement, not an obligation, to export coffee. Latest ICO figures show that more than 20 per cent of last year's quota allocation was not shipped. The producers' reply is that importers are meeting some of their needs through leakages from the non-member market and by using some of the several million bags of coffee that were shipped in 1983/84 but not imported in the period. Demand for 1984-85 quota was therefore inevitably reduced. "If every country tried to fulfil its quota there would be a tremendous excess of supply," one ICO producer delegate explained. He said the price of coffee, which last May reached a seven-year peak of \$1.50, might then slump from its present \$1.35 a pound and possibly even fall through the \$1.20 floor. The latest ICO meeting here did little to resolve any of the many problems that have surfaced, with further discussions now scheduled for March. The ICO is undoubtedly going through a period of strain (some would say crisis), with few signs of the spirit of compromise necessary to put an end to this. And, unless something is done quickly to improve relations between producers and consumers and check the abuses in the control system, some pessimists believe that the ICO may not survive.

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INTEREST PAYABLE HALF-YEARLY ON 16TH FEBRUARY AND 16TH AUGUST.

1. The Stock is an instrument falling within Part II of the First Schedule to the Trustee Act 1925, and is a security for the payment of the principal and interest thereon.

2. The Stock is to be issued in the form of a certificate, and the certificate is to be in the form of a certificate of the Bank of England.

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ISSUE BY TENDER OF £400,000,000

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Mary Brasier meets the LPO's new managing director

Musical notes for a money man

BUSINESS PEOPLE

JOHN WILLAN'S first job as managing director of the London Philharmonic Orchestra will be to find enough money to pay his salary. Five days after he takes up his new job on April 1, the Arts Council cuts will bite, removing £70,000 from the LPO's budget.

By then the Greater London Council which last year contributed the other half of the orchestra's £250,000 subsidy (which it uses partly to pay administrative costs) may have also decided to cut the purse strings for 1985. Just as well, then, that for the first time in its 50-year history, the LPO has brought an outsider on to its board, who is as much at home with pound notes as musical ones.

Mr Willan, aged 43, trained as a chartered accountant and is a former Slater Walker man who has some progressive ideas about how business and music can work in harmony.

"An orchestra is a business, and a lot of orchestras are beginning to find that out," he says. The LPO is already a limited company which works as a co-operative, allotting its permanent players — around 80 — one voting share each.

The shareholders elect the board of directors from their own members, so the current line-up includes the principal double bass player, the bass clarinetist, a cellist, and a horn player.

The problem is that most of them prefer playing in the orchestra to running the back-room show. So when the latest chairman, Mr David Marcou, said he wanted to go back to his violin, the LPO decided it was time for a full-time administrator.

"In spite of being musicians they are all extremely astute," says Mr Willan. "Doing business with the first trombone is not a problem at all. And the advantage I have is that I can be a lot more objective because I do not come from the family. I have not played with the band and my experience is broader having been in a business environment."

Mr Willan has a business head but a musical heart. He looks more like an accountant than a music producer, but he decided at the age of 26, after training as an accountant, that family pressure on him to follow "serious" profession had sent him off down the wrong road.

He chucked in his job as personal assistant to the financial controller of Slater Walker Securities, just at the time when Jim Slater was dismembering Citicorp.

"It was fascinating for a little while but I did not really enjoy it. Slater Walker was in the news every day. Slater himself was terrific — so organised — and the board meetings were electrifying. They would agree to spend millions in one hour. In an orchestra you take two-and-a-half hours trying to decide whether to spend a few thousand."

For the last 12 years he has been with EMI "being paid to listen to music, which is wonderful," but suddenly it was not enough. Part of the job involves being confined to a small square room in EMI's Abbey Road studios in St John's Wood. Surrounded by recording equipment and with a view of the pedestrian crossing immortalised in the Beatles' Abbey Road album, he edits out the minute imperfections of artists like Riccardo Muti, Sviatoslav Richter and Jessye Norman. There is a lot of history at Abbey Road, but not much excitement these days. His only company apart from their music is a packet of cigarettes. Moving to the LPO, he says will allow him both to kick smoking and have more contact with musicians.

He says he is as "excited as hell" about joining the LPO in April. "Music is in my blood. I started as a chorister at school in Oxford, then went into amateur operatics and would get into the office each

day and spend the first two hours arranging rehearsals. He plays the piano for pleasure, although his main hobby is sailing.

He is likely to tackle the orchestra's financial crisis in a very level-headed way, lobbying on the one hand for continued state subsidies while the other hand is already calculating what is needed in terms of outside work and sponsorship to allow the orchestra to survive.

"Assuming the GLC makes a similar cut to the Arts Council in its grant there are two things we can do: cut concerts, which on average lose up to £7,000 each, or get more sponsorship."

"I am totally opposed to cutting the programme because firstly the players (who are paid directly for performances plus rehearsals) would not get paid as much, and also because in the long run it is daft. We are trying to make our product more well known, not restrict it."

Mr Willan says there is a lot of marketing orchestras can do to make sponsorship more attractive to companies. The LPO has just tied up with American Express who are sponsoring two concerts this spring, and more later this year. The Prudential is backing a series of seven concerts at the Festival Hall and paying the LPO £50,000, and

last week Mr Willan did a deal with Sovereign Holidays who are going to include the orchestra's programme in their holiday brochure, which he reckons should pull in a few rich and cultured American visitors. "It is the thin end of the wedge," he predicts.

The danger in all this is of ruffling the artistic feathers of the LPO's main money earners — its players. They regard the twin evils of classical music as "commercial work" — for advertising, records and films and "light music" — and what Mr Willan calls the "endless chains of 1812 Overtures and diets of Strauss."

"They all moan at having to do them, but it does pay and as things stand no orchestra can afford to do without these sorts of dates. But I hope to make this orchestra the orchestra everybody wants to work with, so I have to maintain the quality at the same time as increasing awareness among people in the business that we are available for outside work, and we are competent."

He promises a more adventurous repertoire for 1986 and 1987, but I doubt if he will be able to resist the odd 1812 Overture to satisfy the accountant in him as well as the musician. No doubt Tchaikovsky would be tickled too.



John Willan: "an orchestra is a business." Picture by Garry Weaser

David Lane reports from Rome on the harsh cure being prescribed for European farming's sickly partner

Crop of woe on Italian farms

ITALIAN farmers and their gloomy tales of natural disaster rarely have difficulty in grabbing the headlines — but their true enemy is not the weather but their own incompetence.

The country's newly published national plan for agriculture presents a picture of widespread and deep-rooted inefficiency. Employment statistics reveal a heavy reliance on manpower. With nearly a third of the total EEC agricultural labour force, Italy produces only a fifth of the Community's farm output.

Despite the overmanning, the plan makes the preservation of jobs in farming its first objective. "The high level of unemployment and the circumstances which the industrial sector is facing in restructuring its workforce makes the defence of agricultural employment crucially important," says the plan.

According to the Ministry of Agriculture, Italy's industrial import scheme is so expensive that job protection in farming

is the best solution for the economy as a whole.

Still, expectations realistically point to a further contraction in agricultural employment. Although the number of Italians working in farming has declined by about 700,000 during the past 10 years, official statistics show 2,500,000 people still working in the sector. At 12 per cent of the country's total work force (17 per cent 10 years ago), numbers look sure to fall closer to the rest of the EEC (8 per cent in France, 5 per cent in West Germany, and less than 3 per cent in Britain).

Italy runs a massive trade deficit in agricultural products in spite of its sizeable labour force. In 1983 it imported £7,500 millions of agricultural products and exported only £4,000 millions. This is partly due to the importance Italians attach to eating and drinking, as consumption statistics show. In 1983 national food and drink expenditure represented 28

per cent of total expenditure, compared to 20 per cent in France, 18 per cent in Britain, and just 13 per cent in the United States.

The country runs a huge deficit on meat and live animals, five times greater than the surplus it earns, for example, on wine. Reducing these deficits is an important objective, although it is admitted that it must not be pursued independently of the employment cost. Many areas need action in order to push Italian agriculture towards greater efficiency. A major handicap is the small size of farming units.

Statistics from the third general agricultural census, carried out in 1982, show an average utilised area of only 4.8 hectares for every farm, a figure which in the Campania region drops as low as 2.4 hectares. Only in wild and sparsely populated Sardinia does the number move into double figures.

Inheritance laws and customs need to be overcome if

farm sizes are to be increased. The equal division of land between surviving children leads to fragmentation of property, particularly visible in the south in the many small strips of land which are cultivated. The latest plan discusses changes to inheritance laws, to favour one beneficiary willing to continue with the family farm.

Farming cooperatives are another way of improving efficiency, an approach widely accepted and organised with success in "red" Emilia Romagna, the region in the southern part of the Po Valley where communist local government is firmly entrenched. Setting up cooperatives south of Rome is however another story.

Peasant farmers, fixed in their ways and suspicious of innovation, have turned their backs to the positive features which cooperatives offer.

Part of the problem is the low level of education and training of the majority of

those who work the land. The plan says "it is necessary to align human resources to the increasing calls on education, through professional training for young people entering the sector and continuous updating for those who already work in it."

Infrastructure also fails to measure up to the mark. Transport systems ought to pay more attention to agricultural products, and their need for rapid transfer, says the plan. Irrigation continues to be a top priority, and the completion of works already underway is urged, together with better evaluation of products to be grown in irrigated areas.

Product by product, the plan supplies a detailed analysis of Italian agriculture, and the overall impression is that farmers grow too much of the wrong products.

"It is essential to cut back production. This is still increasing in spite of a significant decline in consumption," is the plan's comment on the rising level of the wine

lake. Annual wine production in Italy is over 40 per cent above home demand, compared to an average of 30 per cent in the rest of the EEC. Expansion of Italian vineyards in lowland areas, causing high production of low quality, has helped boost the surplus.

The EEC is trying to evaporate the wine surplus by distillation, but the Italian plan notes that this has simply led to "the accumulation of huge quantities of alcohol which are difficult to use."

Table grapes are another problem. Italian farmers have planted extensively in unsuitable areas and a large part of the crop (Italy grows 1.2 million tonnes annually, more than twice home consumption) is difficult to sell. Indeed, unsold table grapes often end up by being crushed, the resulting grape juice helping to raise the level of the wine lake.

Failure to respond to what the consumer wants in terms

of product and quality has also hit Italian citrus fruits. The European Community produces less than half of what it consumes. Yet Italy with an annual production of about three million tonnes, grows half a much again as its own domestic demand and manages to export only 10 per cent of production. The rest is bought in and dumped in what is widely acknowledged as a shameful waste. "The varieties grown today in Italy are in the main part unacceptable to the European consumer," is the damning verdict of the plan.

The entry of Spain and Portugal to the EEC will shift the political centre of gravity southwards, and Italy is concerned that at the same time bitter competition to sell Mediterranean products may develop. It wants a more protective policy of greater Community preference to be adopted, and thus exclude products from other Mediterranean countries which are highly competitive on price and quality.



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There's no business like car show business



LETTER Safe and safety

In summary, this should not mean a reduction in safety effort for car drivers (who necessarily interact with other road users) but, rather, an increase in the research effort directed toward these other groups. — Yours sincerely,
Lea Brindle (Dri.
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Why Robson must avoid the Revie road to ruin

ONE OF the nice things about visits to Stamford Bridge is the sight of those two rows of Chelsea Pensioners in the main stand, as spruce and upright as poppies in a Flanders field. Immediately behind them on Saturday sat another of England's old contemplatives — Don Revie.

This is how some people must still see him after his defection to the United Arab Emirates in 1977, leaving the England squad to face an unpropitious but not hopeless cause in the World Cup. Revie appeared on television the other day to repeat his plea of mitigation that while he had been wrong to quit England's management in the way that he did he had owed it to his family to accept the Arabs' offer.

He also defended his decision, those detained analyses of opponents which had proved so valuable during his years as the successful manager of Leeds United but in the England squad tended to end up as scoring pads for card games. The very nature of international football, in which individual improvisation of a high order is needed to pull together the inevitable stray ends, runs counter to the dossier mentality, but Revie still seemed unable to appreciate why a system which worked at club level was anathema to a representative team.

Not that dossiers caused England's decline under Revie after two promising seasons. This had more to do with the manager's loss of confidence in team selection after injuries had deprived him of important players, notably Colin Bell, Gerry Francis and Roy McFarland. The details are mere history now but the lessons have

remained relevant to the progress of England under Revie's successors and need to be heeded by Bobby Robson as he begins the most important year yet of his career in charge of the national squad.

Today Robson announces his party for the World Cup match against Northern Ireland in Belfast a week on Wednesday. Another few days of freezing temperatures may put the match in doubt but on Saturday the second round of the Bass Irish Cup made better progress than the fifth round of the FA Cup so from the meteorological point of view at least the prospects are not too bad.

When the England party flew home from Istanbul in the middle of November the only cloud on their horizon appeared to be the one formed by the pollution belching out of Mexico City, their destination this summer and the focal point of the World Cup proper in 1986. Turkey had been routed 8-0 and this result, following hard on the 5-0 defeat of Finland at Wembley, had given England's chances of qualifying an enormous boost.

Statistically nothing has changed in the ensuing three months. The game in Belfast releases Group Three from its winter hibernation and England are still favourites to win it. True, they face an encounter with the Romanians on May Day which should test their character rather more stringently than their confrontations with the feeble Finns or tremulous Turks but in this group the contest now involves those fighting to qualify for Mexico in second place.

Or at least that is how it should be. Much is still to depend on the



SOCCER COMMENT

David Lacey

strength of Robson's resolve in preserving the shape and substance of an England side which is hardly world class but in the three matches played so far this season has gained in consistency, understanding and, most important of all, confidence.

It would be nice to believe that the England manager has come through his worst crisis, that depressing period last spring when a dreadful performance against Wales at Wrexham was followed by a fortunate draw in Scotland and a limp defeat against the Soviet Union at Wembley. A combination of injuries and non-availability forced Robson to set out for South America with the sort of squad that would have had Revie going to bed in his lucky blue suit. But

after the victory against Brazil had ensured the success of the tour Robson returned home much more his own man in the matter of team planning and playing styles.

The flirtation with 4-2-4, a largely nostalgic exercise which at least had the merit of producing better entertainment gave way to a more prudent formation for the World Cup after which it has become clearer than ever that England are now heavily dependent on two midfield players, Bryan Robson and Ray Wilkins, for their continued success.

Whoever Bobby Robson includes in his squad today the England manager's thoughts will be pre-occupied with the well-being of his captain for the rest of the week. Bryan Robson, it will be remembered, badly damaged a shoulder five weeks ago when he dived headlong over the goal line in vain pursuit of the ball and collided with a heading unit lurking behind an advertising board.

Robson the player believes that he will be fit enough to lead out England at Windsor Park and is hoping to prove as much by returning for Manchester United's match against Arsenal at Highbury this weekend. The Robson manager, who has often voiced the need for the Saturday before important internationals to be left blank, now finds himself in the unusual position of hoping that the new sets in early enough to enable the captain to play. Either that or Arsenal find some method of reviving their decrepit underdog heating.

The growing list of postponements is bad news for all the managers of

the British and Irish teams. A backlog of matches means a rush of club matches in the spring and a greater risk of losing players through injury. At least the participants in Belfast will have been equally affected by the lack of match practice with Northern Ireland suffering the greater handicap in the likely absence of Hamilton.

Bryan Robson apart, Bobby Robson's main problem is how best to switch the events of the last three months against what would be his most natural selection for Windsor Park. Consider what has happened to the Istanbul team.

Wright and Williams were involved in a highly-publicised row with their manager, Lawrie McMenemy, at Southampton and now Williams is playing for Arsenal. Another Arsenal player, Sansom, had a spell out on injury, and yet another, Woodcock, has been dropped because of inconsistent form. All this and Bryan Robson's injury further to complicate matters.

The England manager has to strike a balance between keeping faith with his original judgment as much as individual players and facing present realities. He left Wright and Williams out of the proposed but abandoned get-together at Bisham Abbey last month to show what he thought of the Southampton business, and now has to decide whether or not the point has been fully made.

Williams' position on the right of midfield was in doubt before the disaster at the Dell. Even at the height of the Turkey shoot-out Istanbul he still looked like a good club player struggling to bridge the gap to

the higher level. His place must be under pressure from the Tottenham pair, Glenn Hoddle and Gary Stevens, with Remi Moses and Stewart Robson both arguing a strong case for places in the squad.

Then there is the Everton factor. Can an England manager afford to ignore the fact that the team heading for more than one of the major prizes is for once heavily sprinkled with eligible Englishmen? Now may be the time to bring Gary Stevens, who has been a consistent young Everton right-back, on to the scene in place of Mike Duxbury, who has recently been dropped by manager Howard Kendall. Trevor Steven ought to be given a place in the queue for the possible vacancy on the right.

The expatriates from the Italian League may all get a game in Belfast provided they survived the weekend. Wilkins will become the central figure if Bryan Robson does not make it. Hateley, forced out of the match in Turkey by a knee injury, can expect to replace Withe, and if Woodcock is omitted Francis is the natural replacement, although the England has warmed to the recent performances of Newcastle's Waddie.

There should not be that many unforced changes in a team which has won its first two World Cup matches by scoring 11 goals and conceding none and the team Robson chooses will show the extent to which he places his trust in the strength of continuity over and above the vicissitudes of club football. In the meantime the team sitting behind the Chelsea Pensioners on Saturday often failed to recognise.

FA CUP FIFTH ROUND: LIVERPOOL HELD • FRIGHT FOR EVERTON

Patrick Barclay—York City 1, Liverpool 1

Smith's pride over profit

ANOTHER momentous Saturday at Bootham Crescent was almost spoiled. Almost. As hundreds of youths gathered on the pitch, offering their disturbingly empty heads as punchbags, ITV grabbed Denis Smith. Instead of lauding his team's honourable draw against the European champions, the poor fellow found himself rendered an all too familiar lament.

But the spirit of the FA Cup triumphed because, when the fuss had died, someone asked Smith how much money York would make from the replay at Anfield. Heavens above... would anyone speak for England? Then Smith said, "I haven't a clue," he replied. "I can't be quite honest. I couldn't care less." How wonderful for real values!

Cup draws setting little clubs against big ones is often described as "lucrative" when, to the people who matter, the players and spectators, their character is altogether different. Of course,

the players want their cut of whatever is going, but it was the joy of walking tall, not the prospect of a fat wallet, that had York glowing.

All that toil on the pitch was worthwhile, and after last month's victory over Arsenal the Third Division side thoroughly deserved another swig of champagne. Soragis's late equaliser sealed a narrow but comfortable win for the home side. MacPhail and Soragis, along with a disciplined performance, especially in a first half of which York had the better.

The match was televised abroad, Sweden taking its usual keen interest. Joe's Cafe and the Brudenell Building Society had gone from the perimeter fence, their places usurped by expensive names with umlauts — and Smith hailed his men as "a credit to English football." They had indeed been that, for few counties in the Third Division sides capable of matching Liverpool.

This pedant must add that the men of the match, York's central defenders, were Scots.

with Haselgrove, exemplified their side's reduction of the game to utter simplicity. In hard, sloppy conditions they played the way they were facing, and gave little away. They went forward, too. MacPhail not only clearing off the line from Nicol but forcing a save from Grobbelaar, then playing a part in Soragis's goal.

Liverpool's defence was comfortable. Indeed, they played rank badly in the first half. But then York dropped their guard momentarily and Rush, with a brilliant shot on the turn, gave the home goalkeeper a useful and unfamiliar hour. Exactly 14 playing hours after last conceding a goal, Asbury picked the ball from the net.

From then, Liverpool, at last finding their game, seemed in control. But with five minutes left York mounted a furious assault out of nothing. Ford crossed, Stragis bounced against the angle. Walwyn headed the rebound, with great deliberation, against the bar. Finally, Soragis, with his second bite, tasted success.

The replay might yet have a linesman ruled that Rush had been offside when Whelan shot home. The decision, while debatable, was just, because a flag had erroneously denied Butler a goal in the seventh minute.

All would have ended satisfactorily but for the invasion of York followers whose taunts brought Merseyside louts over the walls of their cages to engage in a punch-up. "If this is the type of fan we are going to attract when we have big games," said a breathless Smith. "I don't want them or their money."

But within minutes they proved eminently forgettable. Now was the winter of our discontent had glorious summer by the sun of York. And, as Shakespeare might have added on one of his less lyrical days, roll on the replay.

SCORERS: York: Soragis (85 min). Liverpool: Rush (52). Referee: A. Asbury. Senior: Ray Strang, MacPhail, Haselgrove, Ford, Butler, Walwyn, Grobbelaar. Goalkeepers: Neil Kennedy, Gillespie, Nigel Hanson, Delaplay, Whelan. Referee: P. Willis (Middlesbrough).

Charles Burgess—Everton 3, Telford United 0

Tough Telford leave their mark

EVERYONE, according to Andy Warhol, should have 15 minutes of fame. The part-timers from Telford had done a little better but this morning Kevin Lewis opens his pub, Paul Mayman clocks in at a bank, and Ken McKenna is just a jobless Scouser again.

It might have felt a touch more like notoriety than fame when the Telford public, given the Goodison Park to boogie from a crowd of more than 47,000. The last of this year's FA Cup minnows had been swallowed after a fifth round match which had been full of bruising tactics and which left a handful of the Everton team hobbling.

The Cup holders and League leaders could afford to be generous, afterwards, by not kicking up a fuss. But with injuries to Stevens, Gary Bracewell, Sharp and Reid, they may still pay a price for a victory which was, barring accidents, or acts of God, assured. As the Everton manager Howard Kendall cracked: "If there were a man of the match award Pat Van den Hauwe would win it because he is the only one who would be able to go and get it. There

is no ice left for the drinks."

Telford, had been warmly received at a brave team from a new town — as they ran out for their big moment. But the atmosphere cooled the longer Telford held out. Some expensive Evertonian legs were knocked aside by vigorous tackles.

Afterwards, full-back Lewis, the publican, gave the Telford view. The 32-year-old, who as an apprentice at Old Trafford under Busby picked up a lengthy disciplinary ban, said: "What the hell did they expect? We are a bunch of part-timers and we had reached the fifth round of the FA Cup. Anyone who has watched our games will tell you categorically that we don't play for rough-arm tactics. You've got to remember Everton are League leaders and we are only part-timers. They're bound to be a yard or two faster. There was definitely nothing premeditated about it. Bloody hell no."

Let the lads and the fans who left Telford a ghost town for the afternoon, remember the good moments.

notably when, in the best move of the match they could have taken the lead. In the 28th minute Hogan, a double-glazing salesman, breezed the ball through a rare gap in the Everton defence to put Alcock, the winger, in behind. Unfortunately the cross bounced badly for Williams, who had scored in every previous round, and he could not hit the ball hard enough, although Southall had to dive quickly and athletically to tip the ball around the post.

They thought their luck was in when referee Spencer disallowed an obvious penalty for Everton when Lewis, his goalkeeper stranded, clearly punched out a cross. It could not last.

When the end came after well over an hour, it came swiftly. Everton scored two goals in four minutes. First when full-back Steven's 25-yard shot was deflected past Charlton by Reid, and then when Sheedy scored a penalty after Turner had harshly adjudged a fouled Everton substitute Harper. A minute from the end, Steven had his reward for a fine display with a sweetly struck 20-yard goal.

At least, Telford have put their town on the map and as their manager, Stan Shorton, said afterwards, remarking on the fact that the crowd was bigger than that for Manchester United: "This is it we pull them in wherever we go."

In the last four seasons Telford have climbed a rung higher on the FA Cup ladder each time. If they continue in the same vein next year then Warhol's words may be as disposable as a can of Campbell's soup.

SCORERS: Everton: Stevens (68 min). Telford: Hogan (28), Alcock (32), Sheedy (85), Turner (88). Referee: J. G. Asbury. Senior: Ray Strang, MacPhail, Haselgrove, Ford, Butler, Walwyn, Grobbelaar. Goalkeepers: Neil Kennedy, Gillespie, Nigel Hanson, Delaplay, Whelan. Referee: P. Willis (Middlesbrough).

Ian Ridley
Southend 1,
FK Austria 2

Cautious Viennese waltz

FK AUSTRIA's short tour of England prior to taking on Liverpool in the European Cup next month must seem to them like a trip to an outside loo during a cold snap. It's something that has to be done, but...

Last Thursday only 353 saw them beat Fulham 2-1. Yesterday, the public of Southend warmed more to them. 2,132 turned up — about 600 above the Roots Hall average and about 2,000 more than they got for Rugby League — but it was no whirl for the elegant Viennese.

In the dressing-room corridors afterwards the FK players muttered about fierce tackling. "It'll be worse up at Anfield," said the Tottenham defender, Graham Roberts, who replaced as guest Osvaldo Ardiles, said to have a groin strain.

Perhaps it was the mere presence of Roberts, who did not exactly hold back when Spurs beat the Austrians in last year's UEFA Cup, that intimidated them. It couldn't have been that of the other guest, Trevor Brooking.

Pre-game, Brooking signed autographs for what seemed like the whole crowd as the summer grappled with Teutonic pronouncements. He was a bit of a joke. He also had trouble with Whelan.

Ducks were frozen into the ice at a nearby park and the pitch was slippery. Liverpool's representative will have gleaned useful information from the FA Cup replay. He remains an outstanding playmaker, scarcely wasting a ball; Turner alongside him in midfield works hard; Nyilass up front can still be sharp and fast, but he has a few tricks against Fulham, has exceptional pace on the left wing.

There was also a hint of how FK who wind up their tour at Crystal Palace tomorrow, will play at Anfield, and how he will play. With a sweeper, all 11 behind the ball at set-pieces; a competent offside trap; and plenty of short passing, Prokash, controlling the tempo. The Viennese behind the ball and wait for mistakes," said Roberts.

The Austrians, all wearing track suit bottoms, sealed their first 11 for the first half, which was enlivened by a brooking-volley which hit the post. Their coach, Thomas Paris, was not pleased. But they were more impressive after the break as, ironically, they introduced five substitutes. Nyilass put them ahead with a looping cross and shot after 55 minutes, Ogris nearly making it two 10 minutes later.

For spirited Southend there was comfort in Brooking's scrambled goal eight minutes from time, an enjoyable game and the size of the crowd, which will make them think about switching to Sunday soccer.

The game had to start 10 minutes late, so the unexpected pressure on these tourists being managed.

There is a sign in an office at Roots Hall: "We the willing led by the unknown are doing the impossible for the ungrateful. We have done so much with so little for so long we are now qualified to do anything with nothing." After the unhappy era of Anton Johnson, who, curiously, was in the stand, perhaps that galleys humour will be banished soon.

Southend United—Austria: South (40 min), Brooking (55), Nyilass (58), Ogris (59), Paris (60), Roberts (61), Whelan (62), Turner (63), Sheedy (64), Hogan (65), Alcock (66), Stevens (67), Henderson (68), Lewis (69), Mayman (70), McKenna (71), Asbury (72), Willis (73), Kennedy (74), Hanson (75), Delaplay (76), Whelan (77), Strang (78), Asbury (79), Willis (80), Kennedy (81), Hanson (82), Delaplay (83), Whelan (84), Strang (85), Asbury (86), Willis (87), Kennedy (88), Hanson (89), Delaplay (90), Whelan (91), Strang (92), Asbury (93), Willis (94), Kennedy (95), Hanson (96), Delaplay (97), Whelan (98), Strang (99), Asbury (100), Willis (101), Kennedy (102), Hanson (103), Delaplay (104), Whelan (105), Strang (106), Asbury (107), Willis (108), Kennedy (109), Hanson (110), Delaplay (111), Whelan (112), Strang (113), Asbury (114), Willis (115), Kennedy (116), Hanson (117), Delaplay (118), Whelan (119), Strang (120), Asbury (121), Willis (122), Kennedy (123), Hanson (124), Delaplay (125), Whelan 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MoD warning to minister of possible embarrassment

Trial of Ponting could be 'shaky', Heseltine told

By Richard Norton-Taylor

Senior Ministry of Defence officials said last August that an Official Secrets Act prosecution of Mr Clive Ponting would be "somewhat shaky" and that the revelation of a leak could be embarrassing to the Government, according to a report of a meeting they had with the Defence Secretary, Mr Michael Heseltine.

It is understood that a minute of the meeting — held at Mr Heseltine's Oxfordshire home on August 12 — records Sir Ewen Broadbent, second permanent secretary at the ministry, as explaining that as a result of good work by the ministry police Mr Ponting had confessed and tendered his resignation.

In the end this was not accepted and the following day, Mr Richard Hasle-Smith, the ministry's chief personnel officer, said that a criminal prosecution was still possible.

Last Saturday, after his acquittal by a Old Bailey jury, Mr Ponting again handed in his resignation.

Mr Heseltine is understood to have told Mr Ponting at a meeting on Thursday that it would be accepted. A ministry spokesman last night said only that Mr Ponting's resignation would be accepted.

According to Mr Dennis Brennan, an assistant private secretary to Mr Heseltine, the Defence Secretary was told on August 13 that Mr Ponting's resignation was not accepted.

Mr Brennan said that Mr Ponting had gone through a difficult patch in his private life in the course of which he became attracted to Buddhism.

That, Mr Heseltine was warned, might be used "with advantage" by a good defence lawyer if Mr Ponting was prosecuted. Anyway, Mr Heseltine was told, the matter did not involve national security, although clearly a breach of trust was involved.

Sir Ewen is also understood to have told Mr Heseltine that he had discussed the matter with Mr Peter Le Cheminant, then second permanent secretary at Whitehall's Management and Personnel Office.

A reference was also made at the meeting to Ms Sarah Tisdall's prosecution last year. If Mr Ponting were allowed to resign or face disciplinary proceedings short of a prosecution, this would contrast unfavourably in public with the handling of the Tisdall case, particularly given Mr Ponting's seniority, Mr Heseltine was told.

Mr Heseltine said he had no doubt that the prosecution of Miss Tisdall had been right and said if the decision was up to him, he would want Mr Ponting to be prosecuted. But he said he was content to leave a decision to the law officers.

The line to be taken in public, the minute is understood to say, was that the case was under consideration by the law officers. The detailed papers handed over to the Director of Public Prosecutions on August 16.

Continued from page one

may escape an immediate sack but his political career is unlikely to survive. "These occasions have an unhappy tendency to be terminal," said one minister last night.

The Tory benches are determined to close ranks and demonstrate their support for Mr Stanley and it is expected by seasoned observers of past resignations that the debate will divide on precisely party lines, with no hint of rebellion.

Some Conservatives remain convinced that the Leader of the Opposition, Mr Neil Kinnock, made a tactical error in making Mrs Thatcher his target last week when Mr Stanley was more vulnerable.

In facing those calling for his head Mr Stanley is taking a high political risk. If he fails to satisfy the House or judges the mood of MPs he

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Signals refute ministers' Belgrano claims

By Richard Norton-Taylor

The Argentine cruiser, the General Belgrano, was never part of a planned pincer movement directed against the British task force during the Falklands conflict, despite the repeated claims of ministers.

Argentine signals, intercepted by the Government's intelligence-gathering centre at Cheltenham and believed to be included in the top secret so-called Crown Jewels document discussed in camera during the Ponting trial — referred to a northern group of the Argentine fleet, the Veinticinco de Mayo, and to a central group of French-built corvettes.

The Belgrano's task, according to Argentine sources which are not seriously challenged in Whitehall, was to steam to a point south of the exclusion zone and then return to Staten Island off the southern tip of the Argentine mainland.

The signals intercepted by GCHQ did not refer to the Belgrano. But ministers did not see the raw material decoded at the Cheltenham base.

As the defence minister during the Ponting trial, ministers were given assessments of Argentine plans, drawn up by naval intelligence and including speculation about intentions in Buenos Aires.

Mr Brian Langford, QC, Mr Ponting's defence counsel, said in open court that information put together after the Crown Jewels were completed was also discussed by the court in closed session.

It is understood that Argentina's signals to recall its fleet during the night of May 1 1982 — the Belgrano was sunk the following day, heading away from the task force — were intercepted and decoded very quickly by GCHQ.

The Government is believed to be worried that any further details emerging about the exact nature of the potential threat posed by the Belgrano might encourage Argentina to seek compensation, possibly through the International Court of Justice.

The Government has acknowledged for the first time that the Belgrano was not a threat to the British task force. It was previously suggested that it had.

In a letter to Mr Tim Dwyer, Minister of State for the Defence Secretary, Mr Michael Heseltine, has said that the submarine located other units of the Argentine fleet, though these were not attacked.

Mr Heseltine was replying to a letter sent by Mr Dwyer to Mr John Stanley, the armed forces minister, last month. He said that he could not give any further details because to do so would involve classified information.

A party spokesman said the fight between two Sikhs, broke out during discussion of non-contentious business. The

meeting — on Friday night — was closed as a result.

Labour's National Executive Committee is to discuss on 16 days whether to mount a full investigation into Southall's organisation and membership.

After allegations of invalid membership among Asians on a holiday in the coast, a Friday was called in place of the party's annual meeting, cancelled because of inquiries into the membership allegations.

Mr Eaton would not be drawn on the size of the return to work he expects this morning. A board press officer said they expected to reach the point soon — by implication today — when the number on strike fell below 100,000 or 45 per cent of the NUM membership.

Continued from page one

He said Mr Cowan made it clear to Mr Willis that the board's commitment to the Nacods agreement was absolute.

An ebullient executive which had remained in talks for some hours last night with senior TUC leaders would be going back to the coalfields "to continue to mobilise as effectively as possible the present industrial dispute". They would

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Skaters took possession of Duke's Meadows, near Richmond, Surrey, yesterday after an overspill from the Thames to produce a scene reminiscent of Lowry

Tories want Thatcher to take hard line over US interest rates and deficit

By Colin Brown, Political Staff

Senior Tory MPs are planning to urge Mrs Thatcher to take a harder line in Washington this week that Europe's economic recovery is being endangered by high US interest rates and the US budget deficit.

They are concerned that in advance of her trip to the US on Tuesday, Mrs Thatcher appears to have adopted a softer stance towards the American economy. She is expected to be asked to take a more robust approach when she answers Prime Minister's questions in the Commons tomorrow.

She was more conciliatory than her Treasury ministers towards the US deficit when she was interviewed for American television by CBS news at Downing Street.

She refused to blame American economic policies for the high value of the dollar and spurned an invitation from an interviewer to describe the US budget deficit as irresponsible.

Mrs Thatcher said she supported the approach the President was taking to the budget deficit, and added: "As you know, I am his greatest fan."

But the Prime Minister did reflect some of the Tory backbench concern when she said that Britain was worried that a very sharp change which would have to come in the budget deficit would be brutal.

Tory MPs are extremely worried about the possible disruption which could be caused once the American economy changes course, and believe that Mrs Thatcher and President Reagan should be preparing to make the transition on world markets smoother.

They are also concerned about the prospect of American protectionism being launched in the wake of a change in the economic climate in the US.

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But in a pamphlet called Work to be Done published today, the two MPs differ from Tory colleagues by arguing that although more could be done to reduce unemployment, the Government's basic economic strategy is right.

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